

PEACE NEWS

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WHAT A WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE SHOULD DO

ON OTHER PAGES

What War Means	2
"Speaking Personally," by Lord Sanderson	5
Amend "Monstrous" Secrets Acts	9
British Empire as a Menace ...	15
Parliamentary Notes	16

Public Affairs Commentary

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND HUNGARY

THE settlement reached on the Czechoslovak-Hungarian frontier dispute at Vienna, with Germany and Italy as arbitrators, marks the final frontier agreement arising out of the Czechoslovak crisis.

The peculiar thing about this arbitration was that both arbitrators were closely interested in this settlement from opposing points of view. Italy supported Hungary, Germany the Czechs. Both arbitrators presumably got what they wanted.

As Mr. Chamberlain has pointed out, we have just witnessed a most difficult revision of the Peace Treaties, a revision which we knew would sooner or later be necessary, and for which now we should be profoundly grateful that it has been accomplished without recourse to war.

If the League of Nations had concerned itself less with power politics under the guise of collective security and had instead considered this matter of treaty revision as one of its most important tasks, we might have been spared the stresses of recent months and at the same time we might have had a virile international organization in existence. As it is, we are faced with the problem of an immense armament race in progress and with a League stripped of all authority.

The fact, however, remains that the Munich conference will stand in history alongside the Congress of Berlin as a major settlement reached without recourse to war. At that congress Rumania with some compensation was forced to surrender Bessarabia to Russia.

The wording of the resolution of the Rumanian Parliament agreeing to the settlement would express the views of Czechoslovakia today:

Compelled thereto by the decisions of the Great Powers and in order to raise no hindrance to the ratification of peace, the Chamber empowers the Government to submit itself to the united will of Europe by withdrawing from Bessarabia its civil and military authorities.

Lord Derby's comment on the Treaty of Berlin could be applied to the Munich agreements. "I hold this Treaty," he said, "to be so far good that it is infinitely better than war. . . . The most it seems to me that can be urged in its favour is that . . . although nobody is proud of it, everybody is glad of it."

IMPERIALISM

THE *Reynolds News* diplomatic correspondent has indicated the contents of Lord Hailey's report, entitled *An African Survey*, to be published by Chatham House. This work has taken five years to prepare and is a study of problems arising in Africa south of the Sahara. The work covers 2,000 pages and nothing on the same scale has ever been done or attempted for Africa.

According to *Reynolds*, the report will reveal that slavery still exists in one form or another in practically every one of our African colonies; many hundreds of child workers, some working eleven to twelve hour shifts, are employed in and about the gold mines; native labour is exploited throughout Africa and adult African labour is paid less than one-tenth of that received by Europeans.

The report further shows that legislation forbids the African to strike, that the best (Continued on back page).

THE kind of practical programme which must ultimately be put into operation by governments if the present state of armed preparation for war was to be replaced by one of genuine and permanent peace, was put forward by Mr. Harold F. Bing at a pacifist conference in Bristol last Sunday.

He proceeded to outline this programme in terms of the problems which a new world peace conference would have to consider. These problems, he said, included:—

Reconstruction of the League of Nations, in connexion with which Mr. Bing advocated deletion of the Sanctions Article (Article 16), development of the League's social and economic activities, relegation of its political functions to a purely advisory character, and an attempt to make its membership all-inclusive.

Minorities should be guaranteed rights defined in the post-war Minority Treaties or, where that was insufficient, either autonomy within the State or transfer to a neighbouring State at their wish. Investigation on the spot of their complaints by a responsible body would remove many grievances.

On the question of colonies the principle of trusteeship laid down in Article 22 of the Covenant should be operated to the full; wherever possible, immediate self-government should be given to dependent territories, and in other cases they should be placed under international control in which representatives of the coloured peoples should share.

Freedom of emigration was an essential requirement for countries with crowded populations and for the Jews and other persecuted groups. The only bar to emigration should be the inability of a country economically to absorb a bigger

population. There should be financial assistance to political, religious and racial refugees.

ECONOMIC OBSTACLES

In order to remove some of the economic causes of war Mr. Bing advocated the removal of tariffs, quotas, and other restrictions on the free access to markets and raw materials, while recognizing that these were in large measure only palliatives and that it was necessary to get down to the root causes of the competitive struggle for colonies and markets which arose from the failure of the present economic system to provide peoples with the means of purchasing the total of the goods they produced.

Agreement among the Powers concerned to withdraw their armed forces from Spain, Palestine, and China, and the adoption of a system of gradual disarmament over a limited period of years were, he said, the necessary correlative to the plan of political and economic appeasement he had outlined.

REFUSAL NOT ENOUGH

The conference, entitled "A Programme for a new world conference," was called as the result of a general feeling among Bristol pacifists that a mere refusal to participate in war, or a determination to resist conscription, was not enough, and that in future they should turn their thoughts particularly toward constructive peace-making.

Mr. Bing is warden of the Folk House, Bristol, and a Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union. Mr. W. H. Lovedee, of the University Settlement, was in the chair.

National Service, Conscription, and the Labour Movement

THE demand for a national service register threatens to lead this country sooner or later to conscription.

That service is intended, in the first instance, to be voluntary does not lessen the danger, since it serves to attract an otherwise doubtful Labour movement with its official policy of collective security which has already compelled it to support rearmament.

In the recent crisis *Peace News* published an "Open letter to members of the Labour Party," in which Wilfred Wellock urged them to face up to the dangers and implications of collective security, revealed the meaning of the national register, and made a powerful appeal for a constructive peace policy in its stead.

CRITICAL MOMENT

This letter has been re-written, expanded, and published as a penny pamphlet under

the title, *Destruction or Construction—Which?*

The present is a most opportune moment for the circulation of this pamphlet (obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union in bulk), as opinion in the Labour movement is becoming increasingly critical of the official policy.

TRADE UNIONISTS' OPPOSITION

At a meeting of Bexhill Trades Council last week the following resolution was carried unanimously:

Bexhill Trades Council reaffirms its belief in international brotherhood and is firmly opposed to the introduction of conscription for the purposes of war and the slaughter of our fellow trade unionists, and their families, in other lands.

Moved by Mr. A. S. J. Stevens, a member of the Peace Pledge Union, and seconded by the secretary of Bexhill Independent Labour Party, the resolution was sent to the TUC and the Labour Party. Bexhill Trades Council has an affiliated membership of nearly 1,000.



George Lansbury's
Armistice Message
to You
appears on page 8

Armistice Pledge to

THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

by

Dr. H. Emerson Fosdick

I HAVE an account to settle between my soul and the Unknown Soldier. I deceived him.

I deceived myself first, unwittingly, and then I deceived him, assuring him that good consequence could come out of war. As a matter of hard-headed, biological fact, what good can come out of that?

Mad civilization! You cannot sacrifice on bloody altars the best of your breed and expect anything to compensate for that.

★
WHEN you stand before the tomb of the Unknown Soldier on some occasion, let us say, when the panoply of military glory decks it with music and colour, are you thrilled? I am not—any more.

I see there the memorial of one of the saddest things in history, from the continued repetition of which may God deliver us—the conscripted boy.

Last time they coerced our sons. Next time, of course, they will coerce our daughters.

ters and in any future war they will absolutely conscript all property.

Born out of the long tradition of liberty, some of us have trouble with these new coercions used as short cuts to get things done, but nothing else compares with this inevitable universal, national conscription in time of war. Repeated once or twice more, it will end everything that remotely approaches liberty.

★

I F I blame anybody about this matter, it is men like myself who ought to have known better.

We went out to the army and explained to these valiant men what a resplendent future they were preparing for their children by their heroic sacrifices.

O, Unknown Soldier, however can I make that right with you? For sometimes I think I hear you asking me about it:

Where is this great, new era that the War was to create? Where is it? They blew out my eyes in the Argonne. Is it because of that that now I strain them vainly to see the great gains of the war? If I could see the prosperity, plenty, and peace of my children for which this mangled body was laid down!

My friends, sometimes I do not want to believe in immortality. Sometimes I hope that the Unknown Soldier will never know.

★

I AM not trying to make you sentimental about this. I want you to be hard-headed. We can have on the one side this monstrous thing or we can have Christ but we cannot have both.

Oh, my country, stay out of war! Cooperate with the nations in every movement that has any hope for peace; but set your face steadfastly and for ever against being drawn into another war.

O, Church of Christ, stay out of war. Withdraw from every alliance that maintains or encourages it. It was not a pacifist, it was Field-Marshal Earl Haig who said, *It is the business of the churches to make my business impossible.*

And, O, my soul, stay out of war!

★

A T any rate, I will myself do the best I can to settle my account with the Unknown Soldier.

I renounce war because of what it does to our own men. I have watched them coming gassed from the front line trenches.

I have seen the long, long hospital trains filled with their mutilated bodies. I have heard the cries of the crazed and the prayers of those who wanted to die and could not; and I remember the maimed and ruined men for whom the war is not yet over.

I renounce war because of what it compels us to do to our enemies, bombing their mothers in villages, starving their children by blockades, laughing over our coffee cups about every damnable thing we have been able to do to them.

★

I RENOUNCE war for its consequences, for the lies it lives on and propagates, for the undying hatred it arouses, for the dictatorships it puts in the place of democracy, for the starvation that strikes after it.

I renounce war and never again, directly or indirectly, will I sanction or support another.

O, Unknown Soldier, in penitent reparation I make you that pledge.

(The above extracts are reproduced with acknowledgments to *The Christian World*.)

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For those who say: "It is sometimes necessary to go to war" . . . HERE IS A PICTURE OF

TRANSLATED by T. L. C. Bluett from a pamphlet in Esperanto, these are extracts from a report on the bombardment of Canton, written by Shya Yen, well-known progressive Chinese writer.

What War Means

there only followed a bombardment on a small scale.

Thus, having had experience of air raids over such a lengthy period, the people of Canton had by this time been rendered apathetic through their immunity; even after the alarm siren had sounded the signal "aircraft approaching," the traffic used still to go on as usual, and the people of Canton were not at all frightened when they heard the booming of the anti-aircraft guns.

But from May 28 the Japanese aeroplanes repeatedly carried out a large-scale bombardment of Canton itself. There were as many as 52 Japanese aeroplanes at a time taking part in a raid, and never fewer than twelve. The weight of the bombs dropped varied from 300 to 500 lbs.; as many as 120 bombs were dropped in a single day, and each day there were at least three air raids.

Between May 29 and June 6 Canton was bombarded the whole of each day and over the whole city the inhabitants had no respite—no opportunity, as it were, to recover their breath. The bombs were dropped quite recklessly: shops, dwelling houses, schools, hospitals, and even the Doumer hospital, on the roof of which French flags were painted, all alike were considered proper objects of attack.

On May 28 and 29 more than 1,000 people were killed in the course of each day, and on June 6 alone there were killed more than 1,200. The number of wounded was beyond calculation.

As for the military and political institutions, which (according to the Japanese spokesman) Japanese imperialism had intended to destroy, almost all of them had come off quite well, and remain undamaged.

Some dozen bombs were dropped round the Town Hall, yet, although it is such an excellent well-defined target, the only result was that several large trees were destroyed, and several of the window panes in the Town Hall were broken.

Even if the bombs had hit it, that would only mean that Japanese imperialism makes war against a building, without having in view any objective of value from a military point of view.

★

UP to the present the number of soldiers and policemen killed has been less than a thousandth of the number of civilians killed. By this fact in itself it is possible to form an idea what purpose Japanese imperialism has in view in these repeated bombardments.

The resulting scene is a hell on earth. If you have not, I repeat, yourself in your own person experienced it, you are totally unable to realize it. Have you ever heard the crashing sound when the bomb falls close to you hurtling through the air? It crushes the spirit of those whom it threatens, and for the moment makes it impossible to think, while you wait with closed eyes, fearing each moment will be your last.

It is followed by a thundering roar that almost bursts the drums of your ears; there is a rattling of window panes, a crashing of glass, and after one or two seconds a pungent-smelling yellowish grey smoke mixed with dust and lumps of earth . . . and of course during these few seconds, tens, hundreds, or even almost a thousand human beings have perished as if they had been only ants. The same things is repeated again and again.

Under the fury of the bombardment one does not feel any special anguish of terror; during the moment which decides whether one is to go on living or to die at once, in all hearts there reigns only a dull feeling which is beyond terror.

One falls to the ground without a word, without uttering any sound, some silently watching the insects on the ground without daring to look further. Every shelter, filled as it is with hundreds who have taken refuge in it, is as silent as the depths of a forest; even the children do not dare to cry out, as if they were overwhelmed with an infinite sense of solemnity.

The busiest streets of Canton have now

become ruins as a result of the bombardment. Under the impact of a 500lb. bomb even a many-storeyed building of reinforced concrete cannot hold out, and the terrible scene which results from its fall is unimaginable. Scattered about in the streets are pieces of human flesh . . .

The survivors, softly weeping, search among the mangled remains for their own loved ones and, if they do not find them, depart in a state of stupefaction, but if they do find them they give utterance to the most heart-rending cries. I saw a woman, about forty years old, with a portrait in her hand, going from one dead body to another, and taking off the grass mats with which they were covered, in search of her own dear one. I looked at the picture; it showed an innocent young girl of fourteen or fifteen.

As a rule I used not to have the heart to look at a dead body or at human blood, but now I can bear to walk without hurrying through the place where the corpses are laid out, and to pass along the blood-smeared track that was once a street.

Is this heartlessness? No, it means that one's senses are numbed; it is a sign of the lassitude and satiety that comes from the constant witnessing of these horrors.

Canton was famous for the beauty of the trees that border its streets, but now even the flowering trees are suffering. If bombs fall near to them the appearance of the trees along the streets is quite changed; the red flowers and the green leaves fall on account of the concussion, so that the trees are withered, if not altogether destroyed.

★

IN view of such reckless bombardment, such barbarism and terrorism, we wonder whether those who drop bombs from enemy aeroplanes can really be human beings like ourselves—with parents and children, with power to think and feel.

Aeroplanes bombarded Wei Oi Street several times in one day and, seeing the Red Cross workers and scouts there digging out the bodies from the ruins of the place which had been bombarded on a former occasion, they actually flew low and dropped three bombs upon the rescue workers and nurses. Is this what they call war?

I quote the following paragraph from the report of the Canton correspondent of the English daily paper, the *China Mail* of Hong Kong:

I and another American photographer and journalist went on to the roof of the Ai Kwan Hotel (the highest building in Canton) to look at the terrible scene. I am not at all exaggerating when I say that Hon Min Street is the very busiest street in the whole of Canton. In that street the number of those killed by bombs amounted to 600. The whole street was red with blood.

In the wrecking of the Hua Kiao hairdressing establishment alone more than a hundred people perished, as a bomb weighing 500 lbs. fell upon it. We saw with our own eyes three schools which had been bombarded; in one of them there were still some dozen dead bodies of children lying on the ground.

I helped Red Cross workers to dig through fifteen feet of ruined brickwork. I saw a young woman, eighteen years old, who though buried under the ruins, by good fortune was not at all injured. When she was extricated, the Red Cross workers, under her guidance, dug out and saved her aged father. I also saw a woman with a child on her back; the child had long been dead, and yet the heart-broken mother refused to leave it, but remained on the spot weeping.

I saw another child sitting crying beside a cat that had been killed; he did not yet know that eight persons in his family had perished, that is, all except himself. It may be supposed that the boy was chasing the cat, and went outside during the air raid, and that it was then that all the family were killed.

What a world we are living in! Is it possible that rational human beings all over the world can remain indifferent to the spread of such barbarous butchery and allow it to continue?

And yet it does continue. I am little by little getting this report written out during a bombardment, but I have already been four times obliged to stop owing to the danger from the aeroplanes. Today is the twelfth day of the great bombardment. The moon is now half full. Those who remain alive seem destined to suffer a yet more terrible ordeal than any yet experienced.

Do you know

that letters are still being sent for "Peace News" not only to our late address but even to the one before that, which we left nine months ago!

To avoid delay,

please make a note now of our new address—

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National Book Fair

Prominence For P.P.U.

AFTER being refused a stand last year in the Sunday Times National Book Fair the Peace Pledge Union this year has not only been able to secure a place, but they have been rewarded with a very prominent position.

PPU members have been acting as stewards on the stand, and a great number of people have stopped to ask questions. The fair opened on November 4 and will continue until November 21. It is open from noon to 8.30 p.m. and on Wednesdays and Saturdays to 9.30 p.m. Admission is 1s. (6d. after 6 p.m.)

At the opening, Mrs. Chamberlain, wife of the Premier, expressed interest in the PPU stall.

THE PEOPLE MUST END WAR

A Young Norwegian on The Lesson of Armistice Day

As a student at Mount Herman School, USA, Eivind Erichsen, a Norwegian, who was then nineteen, delivered this address in a peace service organized by the school's "International Club" on Armistice Day, 1936.

THERE was thunder and lightning; machine guns hammered; cannons roared; shells howled; airplanes crashed; ships sank; wounded men cried, swore and wailed. The air was filled with danger and suffering; death was near—hell on earth. So it was eighteen years ago this morning.

Then—suddenly, everything became quiet. Very slowly men realized that the danger had disappeared. The world war had come to an end.

Soon after, the representatives for the nations met at Versailles to draw up the debts and credit of the war. On the debit side they found things like these: ten million dead soldiers, thirteen million dead civilians, twenty million wounded, nine million war orphans, five million war widows. The loss to the world in money was 338 billion dollars.

But what could be put down to the nations' credit? Very little, or nothing at all. Every nation had lost in the war, and the whole world suffered from it. Therefore everyone said: "Why carry on with wars?"

All over the world, in America, in Asia, in Africa, in Australia, and in Europe all the people cried: "This must be the last war."

When the world war started a large part of the youth in the different countries went to the war light-hearted and thought that they would meet a splendid adventure. Those of them who returned were also among those who wanted world peace.

DANGERS TODAY

The eleventh of November, Armistice Day, has become a great holiday all over the world. By means of radio we are able to follow the celebrations in many countries. There is great rejoicing everywhere.

But the tragic fact is, however, that almost every country today makes larger war preparations than at any time before. The danger of a new and much more cruel war than the last is larger than anyone believes.

Russia, for instance, has a standing army of 1,300,000 and fifteen million trained reserves, the world's greatest air fleet, and a new navy of powerful submarines.

Germany, France, Italy, Japan, USA, and Great Britain all are following the same line. There must be some reason for these war preparations when they can continue in spite of the fact that people all over the world want peace.

Since the world war almost everyone has a better understanding of what war really is. We hate war—there are now so very few who still have the opinion that war is necessary that we can practically say that everyone wants peace.

NO HATRED

It is not true that the people in the countries which lost the War want revenge. The German people do not hate the French people.

I should, in this connexion, like to tell of a little incident. The opening of the Olympic games in Berlin this last summer was broadcast to many countries. I was listening in Norway. As the teams of the different nations entered the stadium, they were all applauded, some more, some less.

Suddenly, there was a great shout—it was the French team. It seemed to me that the whole German audience wanted to show Hitler and the whole world that they did not hate the French people, and they did not want war.

And another thing. During the World

War there was armistice—on a Christmas Day. Then the soldiers on each side met between the lines and celebrated Christmas together.

The day after, however, they had to go back and continue killing friends. They did not hate each other, and so it is with all people.

For instance, how could I hate you just because you are American, and how could you hate me just because I am from Nor-

way? I feel like Walt Whitman when he said:

This moment yearning and thoughtful sitting alone,

It seems to me there are other men in other lands yearning and thoughtful,

It seems to me I can look over and behold them in Germany, Italy, France, Spain,

Or far, far away, in China, or in Russia or Japan, talking other dialects,

And it seems to me if I could know these men I should become attached to them as I do to men in my own lands,

O, I know we should be brothers and lovers, I know I should be happy with them.

But there isn't much we can get without working. When we want peace, why not work for it? We must try to find the reasons for war and try to get rid of them.

But how can we work for peace?

1. We can work for peace by learning to understand and trust each other in school life.

2. We can work for peace by getting the facts about past wars.

3. We can work for peace by study, conversation, and in other ways work for an international economic order.

4. We can help to create public opinion which still is the greatest moral force in the world. It is made up of the

opinions of individual people like you and me.

5. We must be careful in believing everything that is said of other nations. Let us try to understand the reasons for other countries' thinking and acting. Let us look at the international problems with international eyes.

6. We can support the World Court, the League of Nations, the World Student Christian Federation, and other international organizations.

7. If we want to, we can make it known that, personally, we are through with war, no matter what happens.

If we do not, one day, maybe, we will have to leave our home and the people we love to go to war. The English people have shown how large a power a strong opinion among the people has on the government.

Let the resistance against war be so strong among the peoples that the governments do not dare enter a war. It is true what a former president of USA said: "Peace is not made in documents, but in the hearts of men."

The International Club here at Mount Hermon has as its motto: "International good will."

Let this also be your motto. Join us in our work for peace. Let there be no armistice in our fighting for world peace against the stupidity of war, because it is true that, as Lord Bryce said: "Either we will end war or war will end us."

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NEW BOOKS

A NEW SOCIAL ANALYSIS

Power: A New Social Analysis. By Bertrand Russell. Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.

Reviewed by Wilfred Wellock

THIS book might be described as a treatise of definition, and its purpose to aid clear thinking, and to guide action into effective channels. Perhaps there exists no greater need today than of such guidance.

Naturally *Power* is in no sense an exposition of pacifism, but it performs the inestimable function of enabling the pacifist to understand the nature of the problems he must overcome if his principles are to prevail, and the manner in which he ought to set out on his constructive purpose.

The author analyses the nature and bases of social power, and supports his conclusions with a wealth of historical detail that is positively bewildering. These analyses, by the way, enable one much better to estimate the longevity of different political regimes, to perceive the source of their strength and weakness, and thus where to lay the emphasis, should one desire to strengthen, or to supersede, any particular regime.

In a work of this kind one naturally gets many shocks, but one must expect shocks when the cool, penetrating mind of Bertrand Russell begins to analyse the roots of social power, either in the ancient or the modern world.

One of those shocks comes in the opening pages:

Every man would like to be God, if it were possible; some few find it difficult to admit the impossibility . . . Of the infinite desires of man, the chief are the desires for power and glory.

In the course of this book I shall be concerned to prove that the fundamental concept in social science is power, in the same sense in which energy is the fundamental concept in physics . . . The laws of social dynamics are laws which can only be stated in terms of power, not in terms of this or that form of power.

The men who cause social changes are, as a rule, men who strongly desire to do so. Love of power, therefore, is a characteristic of the men who are casually important. Love of power is the chief motive producing the changes which social science has to study.

After that apparently brutal statement of the case, the author informs us that we should be mistaken if we regarded the love of power as the sole human motive, and immediately justifies the claim made in the above by the assertion that even a religion desires victory, universal acceptance of its tenets.

Religious leaders seek power in order to advance their cause. Hence the words: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." Another line which comes to mind is "Jesus shall reign where e'er the sun . . ."

Thereafter the author proceeds to analyse the community, which he divides into leaders and followers, the former seeking power in order to further some interest or purpose, the latter finding satisfaction in being under someone's wing, part of a cause, a party, &c.

In addition there is a third group which, like the monks, find satisfaction in withdrawal.

Social power is classified into military, economic, revolutionary, traditional, propaganda, &c., each kind being subjected to very careful analysis. Special chapters are devoted to priestly, kingly, naked, revolutionary, and economic, power.

A chapter on propaganda, under the title "Power over Opinion" is very revealing, as the following quotations will show:

It is easy to overestimate the power of official propaganda, especially when there is no competition . . . Lies need competition if they are to retain their vigour.

In the long run, those who possess the power are likely to become too flagrantly indifferent to the interests of the common man, as the Popes were in the time of Luther. Sooner or later, some new Luther will challenge the authority of the State . . . and be so quickly successful that it will be impossible to suppress him.

The effect of organization and unification, in the matter of propaganda as in other matters,

is to delay revolution, but to make it more violent when it comes.

The chapter on "Creeds as Sources of Power," reveals other fatal weaknesses in totalitarian forms of government. We are told that

creeds which are used too intensively are transitory in their effects. Outward uniformity demands tyranny, and does not easily produce a genuine inward sentiment.

It is in the latter portion of this book, after he has studied the bases of social power in ancient and mediaeval States, that the pacifist will find most help.

In "The Ethics of Power" we are brought face to face with power in its highest form.

If I had to select four men who have had more power than others, I should mention Buddha and Christ, Pythagoras and Galileo . . . No one of the four would have affected human life as he has done if power had been his primary object . . . It is not ultimately by violence that men are ruled, but by the wisdom of those who appeal to the common desires of mankind, for happiness, for inward and outward peace, and for the understanding of the world in which, by no choice of our own, we have to live.

The desire for some other end must be so strong that power is unsatisfying unless it ministers to this end.

Prophets and sages, with few exceptions, have valued things other than power—wisdom, justice, or universal love—and have persuaded large sections of mankind that these are aims more worthy to be pursued than personal success.

The great religions that aimed at universality, replacing the tribal and national cults of earlier times, considered men as men, not as Jew or Gentile, bond or free.

To the extent, and only to the extent, that pacifist propaganda is linked with these universal aims will it triumph. Our deepest thanks are due to Bertrand Russell for taking us once again down to the roots of things.

PENAL REFORM

Guilty As Libelled. A Crawford. Arthur Barker. 10s. 6d.

In the light of pacifist philosophy this is an extremely important publication. Coming from the authority it does it vindicates all that pacifists have said about the penal system and how it must be changed.

The author is the son of a great Glasgow humanitarian who saw that the slums, the crime of his city, were but symptoms. Thereupon he made his vow to do his utmost to remove those symptoms. He would have made an excellent advocate himself but he had to be content with a son as an advocate.

During his course of training the author was confronted with what to him seemed to be conflicting premises. From his father he had learned that crime was but a symptom and that it was due to the terrible conditions in which people lived.

From a friend in Paris he learned that there is but one human heart which is shared by all of us and that that heart contains all that is good and bad in life. That being so his friend pointed out that we are all criminals.

After spending many years defending criminals he decided that there was truth in each of these contentions and that they were complementary.

After describing many of the cases he fought he gives us his conclusions in what is perhaps the most important chapter.

When a man or woman in the dock is found guilty of a crime which in justice and fairness can be traced to causes which represent sin against rather than sin by him, we, the community, are the accused—guilty as libelled. In my opinion, a majority of my cases came into this category.

He mentions the recent floggings of Harley and Wilmer of Mayfair. "Let us read about crime," he says, "not as we do in sporting vein but as we would about cancer—wondering what we can do to eradicate this vile thing. The public interest in the flogging of Harley and Wilmer was a degrading phenomenon. Such a phenomenon spells the perpetuation of the crime which gave rise to it."

He refers to the sadism which drives men to the most brutal of crimes with a sneer or contemptuous smile on their faces. In this connexion he mentions the underworld of Glasgow with its insane, its poor, its blind reactions to harrowing circumstances.

These people brought him more in line with his father's teachings. They were by-products and if they became sadists, he points out that if pathological action is leading to the breakdown of moral resistance, "knowing it to be wrong" is no reason for responsibility for crime.

Like his father, therefore, he is anxious that causes should be dealt with in order that the symptoms might be changed. He sees reason for criticizing the fact all so-called criminals go the same way, there being no other method of treatment than prison. Therefore he gladly hails the report of H.M. Prison Commissioners for the year 1936 in which more modern methods of treatment are described.

His book ends with an appeal that we remove the sources and causes of crime by a process of scientific investigation. With this basis of remedial action our label "Guilty As Libelled" will soon be changed to "Not Guilty."

FOR THE CHILD

New Valour. Miss Devonshire. Peace Book Club. 2s.

This book has been written in response to a suggestion made by the late Dick Sheppard that there was need for a simple, practical publication which would convey to children the meaning of peace as a constructive ideal.

In an introduction by Vera Brittain it is stated that an outstanding characteristic of childhood is the possession of a clear, honest, and logical mind which enables children to exercise it upon the fair presentation of both sides of a case.

The reviewer fears, however, that the book will be a little above the heads of the average child. But it will prove to be extremely valuable where it can be used as a text-book at school where teachers can give a fuller explanation of the more difficult passages and answer any questions which it will inevitably evince.

Likewise, therefore, it is a book for parents and Sunday school teachers who are anxious to give the children in their care a true interpretation of the historical forces which today compel men to reject the use of violence as a means of settling disputes.

In the first chapter, therefore, the age-old question is asked and cited as being the most important issue of the day, "should there be a loyalty and obedience to the spirit of good in man's own conscience, or submission to the rulers of the nation?"

Various opinions are then given and these are followed by chapters dealing with modern war, patriotism, and nationalism. The League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact are then explained, being most appropriately followed by a discussion on present-day nationalism and rearmament.

Thus a pen picture is drawn of the stages through which the world has passed to reach its present plight, the conclusions arrived at being supported by passages from the writings of eminent men upon the subject.

The final "Call to Action" is prefaced by an appeal:

If we of the democratic countries are really more civilized than some of our neighbours, ought we not to take the lead in ways of generosity, understanding, and cooperation, rather than adopt those vile methods which we profess to condemn.

But what follows is even more excellent. Besides urging Mr. Lansbury's alternative to war, young pacifists, it is stated, will endeavour to remove the shame of poverty and unemployment and the present methods of directing industries, which allow foods to rot away while people who need them are compelled to go without.

Here, therefore, pacifism is described as

a way of life. In the words of the PPU, we are required to "live out pacifism in the home, in the office and be free from bitterness and full of gaiety."

To explain the meaning of pacifism in terms which can be understood by children is clearly a most difficult task. This brave attempt is therefore warmly welcomed for here is a book for which many pacifists have been waiting.

J. MANTIP

PACIFIST ECONOMICS

Bio-Economics. By Joseph Yahuda. Pitman. 7s. 6d.

"The survival of the human race is the goal of statesmanship, and the test of survival ought to decide whether a certain activity should be tolerated and the extent to which it might be pursued."

A consideration of this assertion must be based upon the evaluation of survival. The author's basis is not just span of years, but the product of that factor and health plus intelligence plus virtue. Not even a Llewellyn Powys could object to this foundation!

Mr. Yahuda proceeds to trace similarities between economic structure and fundamental aspects of biology. The first parallel is drawn: from the biological struggle between members of the same species, and between different species, which is likened to the economic competition between individuals or groups dealing in the same commodity or service and between groups or individuals dealing in different goods and services.

Individualistic self-selection in nature, which is abated by sex, parental solicitude, and the fear of common danger, is regarded as parallel to the religious and ethical principles and common sympathies in the economic and social sphere.

Natural selection moulds and remoulds instinct, builds and breaks up race-tradition. When what is temporarily expedient and what is ultimately advantageous coincide, the race improves; otherwise it degenerates. Similarly, economic institutions and devices are moulded and remoulded.

The conclusions are interesting:

First, that the organization of modern society favours the abuse of power and hampers the development of man. Secondly, that inter-human relations ought to be founded on the principle of stewardship, because it alone guarantees—as far as is humanly possible—the survival of the race . . . characteristics are not shed or acquired by the performance of surgical operations. It is by the conduct of the organism as a whole—its action upon and reaction to its surroundings—that biological changes are brought about.

Let us not then scrap our social heritage summarily, in the hope of establishing an ideal society on the wreckage. Rather let us try to convert it into a new commonwealth by modifying the existing political, economic, and social surroundings according to principles of race-preservation and race-progress.

Here is the pacifist's answer to the revolutionary reformer.

Hope for those who fear the spread of fascism and doubt the efficacy of the above-mentioned methods to cope with it is also provided. Mr. Yahuda believes—and shows effectively—that if absolute power be used for a purpose not consonant with survival, democracy is bound to sprout from it and will ultimately prevail.

The dichotomy of the Marxist social analysis is criticized and as a substitute Mr. Yahuda provides what he calls the Quadripartite Pattern. This consists of the favoured Fit, the favoured Non-fit, the Non-favoured Fit and the Non-favoured Non-fit.

The influences of these groups on each other are carefully analysed and the method by which equilibrium is achieved is shown. But disintegration and degeneration are inevitable so long as the pattern exists by reason of the abuse of power by the Favoured.

Regeneration can come only by the exercise of individual and national power along the lines of survival. In other words, power must be converted into trust, and our legislation must be of such a kind that it enables the individual and the community to enforce these trusts.

There is nothing in this thesis with which a pacifist can disagree. From the point of view of economics it is sound. The writing is clear and logical.

The reviewer can only endorse the author's hopes that the book will pave the way for further scientific investigations along the lines he has indicated and that we shall thus see the beginning of the end of charlatanism in economics and politics.

STANLEY PRICE

REMEMBER

O mighty throng of Flanders' dead
To what dim hole is Reason fled,
When round about I hear it said
That war is near?

Send forth a message to your sons;
Forbid your boys to handle guns,
And tell them that the man who runs
Is very wise.

Could not your groans be heard anew
At councils of the mighty few,
Before the deathly searing dew
Falls from the sky?

Send out a call to women, too,
Who send their sons to death, and dew
Their graves with tears, for only you
May be believed.

Peter Coates

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SPEAKING PERSONALLY

THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY

THERE has been a great deal of talk of late about the defence of democracy. This is not surprising when it is remembered that democracy has, in the comparatively short time since the War, disappeared from a large part of Europe.

I want in this article to consider what is meant exactly by the defence of democracy, and how and from what it is to be defended.

Democracy is, of course, in its narrow sense simply a form of government—literally, government by the people. But in its wider sense it has come to mean and ought to mean a great deal more than this.

Democracy is a state of society, a society established on the recognition of the rights of the individual without distinction of class or creed, and based on liberty, toleration, and equality before the law.

Or, to put it shortly in the words of Professor Laski, "a democratic State regards its members as equally entitled to happiness."

WE have, in the course of the centuries, built up in England a fairly complete political democracy, and a society based to a large extent on the principles just laid down.

There are weak points in the machinery, and the system is still open to improvement in several directions. But, in spite of its imperfections, it is well worth preserving.

Democracy is, I believe, the best form of government which has yet been devised, though it may not be the best for all countries and at all times.

It is a form of government which has only been established in quite modern times. The so-called democracies of the ancient

—is the subject of—
Lord Sanderson's
—final article—

world were not really democracies, as they were based on slavery.

HOW is democracy to be defended? First and foremost, by teaching the people to understand it, and by persuading them to use rightly the powers that it gives them.

The people must learn to detect the charlatan and to explode a fallacy, in order to be able to counteract the attacks of its opponents. An uneducated democracy will never go far.

Again, the people must be willing to use the power democracy gives them. If they will not use the vote, democracy will perish. It is really alarming to think of the enormous percentage of people who do not trouble to vote at municipal elections, and the quite large percentage who abstain from voting even in parliamentary elections, to say nothing of the ignorance and lack of thought displayed by a large proportion of those who do go to the polls.

If our democratic society is to survive, it must then be defended from the indifference of its members.

DEMOCRACY and all democratic institutions have been destroyed in Germany and Italy, and dictatorships have been established there. Is it not possible that the same thing might happen in our own country?

Why was democracy destroyed in Germany and Italy? Because the people were unable or unwilling to work it, and because they had been reduced to such a low

standard of living that they jumped at any change which appeared to offer a chance of improving their physical condition. We can, in England, work the democratic machine if we will, and conditions of life here are not so bad that they should lead us to suppose that they can be improved by a dictator, whether fascist or communist.

Opponents of the Government constantly accuse it of being fascist, and assert that fascism will one day be imposed on the people of England against their will. If this were to come about, the people would only have themselves to blame, for it would be due entirely to their own inertia, and to their failure to use the power which democracy has given them.

AGAIN, the majority of the people might be persuaded that a dictatorship was better than a democracy. In that case, a different form of government would have been established by the democracy itself.

All that can be done to prevent this is so to educate the nation that it is convinced that democracy is the best form of government for it. That is the only way, so far as I know, in which democracy can be defended from its overthrow within a single country.

It is possible that a democracy might be converted to communism or fascism by foreign propaganda. The only way to prevent this is either to stop the propaganda—which is very difficult to do, and attempts to do it often defeat their object—or by counter-propaganda—that is, again, the defence of democracy by education and persuasion.

If a democratic country like our own were invaded and conquered by a fascist country, fascism would probably be forced upon us. The only defence of democracy here lies in the prevention of invasion and conquest.

In order to do this, we must either defend ourselves against attack from outside, or

we must bring about peaceful relations with other countries by negotiation.

I DO not like defensive armaments, because I believe that the more we arm the more difficult it becomes to negotiate for the prevention of war. Armaments must always be an embarrassment to the establishment of friendly relations with other countries.

If, however, a democracy like our own decides that defensive armaments are necessary, a conflict of duties at once arises for the pacifist—the conflict between his duty as a pacifist and his duty as a democrat.

Of course, the pacifist can and should go on trying to convert the democracy to pacifism as long as possible, but when rearmament has been brought about by democratic sanction, he cannot as a good democrat further oppose it. But he can as a pacifist refuse to have anything to do with it, so long as his pacifism is based on conscientious objection.

These arguments seem to me to apply to compulsory national service and to conscription, and I think it is a mistake to talk about opposition to these measures when they have been democratically decided upon as the defence of democracy. If they are forced upon the people against their will, it is quite another matter.

I dislike the idea of compulsory national service and I have a horror of conscription, but I do not see why, if they are decided upon, it should mean the destruction of democracy and the establishment of fascism. The French have had conscription for years, and France is still a democracy.

WE have been told by the Prime Minister that there is no intention of introducing compulsory national service or conscription by this Government in peace-time. There is no doubt a great deal of talk about voluntary national service, but I fail to see why it should be assumed that the word "voluntary" is only used as a cloak for compulsory national service, or why it should be a danger to democracy, if people are willing to accept it.

It seems to me that most of this talk about the defence of democracy means little more than a desire on the part of those who use the phrase to convert democracy to their way of thinking. We pacifists have our own work to do; it is the conversion of the democracy to pacifism. Does it help to call this the defence of democracy?

Vital need for a Positive Pacifist Initiative—5

THE type of proposals that must be formulated by pacifists for consideration as a basis for a peace settlement that will really settle the world's problems that lead to war must, if the considerations advanced in the previous articles in this series are sound, be directed specifically at the problem of imperialism.

They must, that is to say, be in full conformity with the pacifist conception of human relationships, for they will aim at lifting the militarist method of ordering the affairs of the world at those points where militarist domination is the normal day-to-day condition.

Such proposals will aim at giving freedom from military rule to those peoples who, as the native populations in colonial or mandated territories at the present time, live under it. This does not mean that such native populations "not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" (to quote the phrase in the Covenant of the League), shall be deprived of the assistance that can be offered by the world's industrially developed civilization. It does mean, however, that this assistance—and the less amiable things that have hitherto accompanied it—shall not be imposed upon the "backward" peoples whether they desire it or not.

It has to be recognized, for one thing, that there are today hundreds of thousands of men and women who live under the conditions of industrially developed civilization who are far from confident that it is a blessing.

AID FOR "BACKWARD" RACES

IT must be incumbent upon those who seek to carry their civilization to the "backward" peoples to make the advantages it offers so transparently attractive that they will be willing to accept it voluntarily; but leaving them free to reject it if they so desire.

The European and American contact with the backward peoples should be through the brotherly offer of aid and not

through the military imposition of an alien rule.

Any League of Nations, then, that really aims to substitute a rule of law for a rule of violence based on military power will begin with those peoples who have for generations been subject to alien rule and will direct its policy to their emancipation and the establishment of their own democratic and ordered government.

The first aim of a world conference, therefore, according to the type of proposals that pacifists, Labour supporters, and other progressive-minded people should be able to endorse in combination, would be the complete liquidation of imperialism. To this end such a conference should agree to set up machinery, in conjunction with representatives of each colonial area, for establishing the best method by means of which the will of the populations concerned may be obtained as to the form of government they desire for their respective territories.

This decision being reached in respect of any colonial or mandated territory, there should be an immediate withdrawal of the military forces of the imperialist Power that has formerly controlled the area; and there should be a time-schedule settled under which the administrative officers and the judiciary of the imperialist Power should be withdrawn step by step.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

PARALLEL with these developments there should be established an international organization which should be able to place at the disposal of any of the peoples so released from imperialist control—at their request, and free from any element of compulsion—expert advisers in administration, technical problems, and jurisprudence.

BASIS FOR A LEAD

Such proposals should cover the establishment of international courts to which would be referred problems of dispute as between the traders and trading concerns of Europe and America and the nationals of the peoples now beginning "to stand by themselves in the strenuous conditions of the modern world"; some such provision would be necessary so that the question of "capitulations" need not arise and the excuse for intervention in the affairs of the backward peoples would be avoided.

There should be an international trading organ whose function it should be to allocate as between the different nations the available raw materials of the world; and there should be encouraged, in order to facilitate the operations of such an international trading organ, the setting up by each nation of the necessary departments to enter into commercial relations with the International Clearing House on the basis of bulk sale and purchase.

BASIS FOR OUR POLICY

THE above indications of some of the main conceptions which should govern the work of an effective international conference if there is to be any chance of providing the political and economic conditions of a peaceful world.

There is much more to be said in extension and elaboration of such proposals, but I will not seek to work them out further in this article. I am hoping that the point of view put forward in this series will evoke discussion in *Peace News* as to the right basis for a positive pacifist policy in the present world situation, and if such discussion is forthcoming I will ask the Editor to let me contribute to it in a later issue.

There is, of course, plenty of room for modification and change with regard to the

proposals outlined. There is, however, no need for pacifists to be afraid of them because they may be called extreme.

I have put the pacifist criticism of the "collective security" policy to many people, not pacifists, and of different political parties. Generally speaking, I have found a readiness to recognize the claim that the only way to bring peace to the world is for the great imperialist nations to take the lead in getting rid of the principle of imperialism as the deadly cause of conflict between nations.

NEED FOR A LEAD

IF they have not risen enthusiastically to the proposal it is because they have had no faith that such an enormous change in public opinion as seemed to be implied could be achieved. I believe that vast numbers of people are in this position, and that with energy and enthusiasm for a body of positive proposals designed to eliminate imperialism from the world pacifists could bring about a rapid change of view.

It is, however, to a body of proposals designed to achieve genuine pacifist ends that we must harness our enthusiasm. Pacifists have been all too ready in the past, it seems to me, to content themselves with giving support to proposals formulated by non-pacifists which assume the inevitability of a militarist world; proposals for the extension of the mandates system, for instance, and the Van Zeeland proposals.

In neither case do these deal with the central cause of war, and anyhow they each assume and require a militaristic basis of society. Let pacifists not be afraid of the positive implications of their pacifism. They may be assured that if they can influence society with their own constructive proposals those proposals will be repeatedly scaled down by the time political achievement comes to be based upon them.

Such scaling down, however, is not the job for the pacifists. Their work is the formulation and advocacy of a system of international politics that squares with their own philosophy of life.

By "NECTAIRE"

Peace And Child Education

MARK STARR maintains that "a new form of society also needs a new form of education." Is it not truer to say that a new form of education would produce a new form of society?

In spite of irrefutable evidence to the contrary, moderns persist in believing that disputes can be settled by military methods.

One of the contributing factors to such a state of mind must be a faulty education. It is therefore the task of contemporary educationalists to educate children to be able to view situations radically.

For what are children educated? Toward what end are their energies directed? The Italians, the nazis, and the Soviets aim at producing ideal citizens of already existing States. Britain, while laying claim to a free and democratic education, does much to produce a specifically national-minded population.

What then shall we do with our children? What means shall we employ toward what goal?

MOST psychologists, educationists, and philosophers who agree with Arnold Bennett who says:

The perfected man is the complete man—the man in whom all the elements of human nature have been developed to the highest pitch compatible with the making and holding of a psychological harmony within the individual and an external social harmony between the individual and his fellows.

Economic and social progress can bring about superficial changes in human behaviour, but because these changes are not fundamental, the conscious inhibitions would be released in times of emergency.

It is not human nature to behave as one does in war—it is not necessary to find fault with human nature, but it is necessary to find fault with the forces that shape and direct human behaviour.

When a child offends against the social code it is easy to punish the action, but it is of more lasting benefit to train the emotion that stimulates the action. By suppressing the child's action the teacher fixes it. An unfulfilled wish lives on in the unconscious.

An instinct has three aspects—cognitive, emotional and conative. Translating this into everyday terms—one becomes aware of an object or occurrence, one experiences an emotion regarding it, and one acts in connexion with it, or feels an impulse to such action.

Suppose John has an apple and Jane has not. Jane might become aware of this apple, experience a desire for it and snatch it. Now if we take the apple away from Jane and punish her, we have only dealt with the conative aspect of her behaviour.—we have not cured her of her anti-social desire.

The supremely difficult task of the true educationalist is to redirect her emotion into social channels. Jane should not be punished for taking the apple, but an environment should be so arranged that her energies are induced to flow socially.

Such treatment requires knowledge and love, both of which commodities are available in contemporary child study circles where some of the greatest scholars of the day are engaged in the new study of genital psychology (the psychology of growth).

PUNISHMENT as such is never justified. It is always the same child who is punished all through his school career. The mischievous Tommy Brown in IIb is still being punished for misdemeanors in Va.

No educationalist would advocate unbounded freedom, for there is no such thing. But the environment must fit in with the dominant mode of growth of the child.

A child is a sensible being. Given freedom for thought he does not argue that a circle has corners, but he does suggest that it is unreasonable to pray to God for a British martial victory, and he does not accept with unquestioning obedience the past philosophies of the world.

Freedom is not mere absence of restraint; it is a condition complete with opportunity for initiative; and that, I think, is the right childish and adolescent environment.

A happy child is a creative child.

People often ask if the atmosphere in a "free" school prepares children to adapt themselves to the drudgery of life. We do not want them to adapt themselves to the

A BLOODLESS WEAPON FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mr. Gandhi's Alternative to the "Science of War"

A FURTHER plea to Czechoslovakia to try the way of non-violence—"a weapon not of the weak but of the brave"—has been made by Mr. M. K. Gandhi in his weekly paper, *Harijan*.

A fortnight ago we reproduced his first article on this subject; his latest article, entitled "If I were a Czech," the greater part of which we publish below, shows that the democracies must choose whether they will adopt or reject the science of war, which "leads one to dictatorship, pure and simple."

By M. K. GANDHI

IF I have called the arrangement with Herr Hitler "peace without honour," it was not to cast any reflection on British or French statesmen.

I have no doubt that Mr. Chamberlain could not think of anything better. He knew his nation's limitations. He wanted to avoid war, if it could be avoided at all. Short of going to war, he pulled his full weight in favour of the Czechs.

That it could not save honour was no fault of his. It would be so every time there is a struggle with Herr Hitler or Signor Mussolini.

It cannot be otherwise. Democracy dreads to spill blood. The philosophy for which the two dictators stand calls it cowardice to shrink from carnage.

They exhaust the resources of poetic art in order to glorify organized murder. There is no humbug about their word or deed. They are ever ready for war. There is nobody in Germany or Italy to cross their path. Their word is law.

DEMOCRACIES MUST CHOOSE

It is different with Mr. Chamberlain or M. Daladier. They have their Parliaments and Chambers to please. They have parties to confer with. They cannot maintain themselves on a perpetual war footing if their language is to have a democratic accent about it.

Science of war leads one to dictatorship pure and simple. Science of non-violence can alone lead one to pure democracy. England, France and America have to make their choice. That is the challenge of the two dictators.

It was necessary to give this introduction to what I want to say to the Czechs and through them to all those nationalities which are called "small" or "weak." It is clear that the small nations must either come or be ready to come under the protection of the dictators or be a constant menace to the peace of Europe.

In spite of all the good will in the world England and France cannot save them. Their intervention can only mean bloodshed and destruction such as has never been seen before.

"IF I WERE A CZECH"

If I were a Czech, therefore, I would free these two nations from the obligation to defend my country. And yet I must live. I would not be a vassal to any nation or body. I must have absolute independence

(Continued from col. 1)

drudgery. We want to banish the drudgery.

SUCH schools do help children to acquire a free mental outlook with which they can deal with difficult world situations.

If one makes a child miserable in school in order to prepare it for adult life, where can one stop in this world of bombs?

Hate and fear are two of the main causes of war. The German children are taught to hate and fear the Jews and the Russians, and the Russian children are taught to hate and fear the Italians and the Germans.

It is a very pernicious thing to rule children by fear. If we can educate our children by disseminating love, the children will grow up without these war-inducing emotions.

It is advantageous for them to have young companions of other nationalities. An English boy who has worked and played with a friend from overseas, will not be easily led away by propaganda which in later life makes that friend and his country enemies of Britain.

KATHLEEN BARTLETT



Mr. Gandhi

He has made several thousand of his people throw down their arms.

He thinks he has imbibed the lesson of non-violence. He is not sure of his people. I reproduce below the pledge that his soldiers of peace make:

In the presence of God I solemnly affirm that:

1. I hereby honestly and sincerely offer myself for enrolment as a Khudai Khidmatgar (the name given to these soldiers of peace.)
2. I shall be ever ready to sacrifice personal comfort, property, and even life itself to serve the nation and for the attainment of my country's freedom.
3. I shall not participate in factions, nor pick up a quarrel with or bear enmity toward anybody. I shall always protect the oppressed against the tyranny of the oppressor.
4. I shall not become member of any other organization and shall not furnish security or tender apology in the course of the non-violent fight.
5. I shall always obey every legitimate order of my superior officers.
6. I shall always live up to the principle of non-violence.
7. I shall serve all humanity equally. The chief objects of my life shall be attainment of complete independence and religious freedom.
8. I shall always observe truth and purity in all my actions.
9. I shall expect no remuneration for my services.
10. All my services shall be dedicated to God; they shall not be for attaining rank or for show.

I have come to the Frontier Province, or rather he has brought me, to see with my own eyes what his men here are doing. I can say in advance and at once that these men know very little of non-violence. All the treasure they have on earth is their faith in their leaders.

My purpose will be fulfilled if I succeed in reaching these men's hearts and making them see that if their non-violence does not make them feel much braver than the possession of arms and the ability to use them, they must give up their non-violence, which is another name for cowardice, and resume their arms which there is nothing but their own will to prevent them from taking back.

I present Dr. Benesh with a weapon not of the weak but of the brave. There is no bravery greater than a resolute refusal to bend the knee to an earthly power, no matter how great, and that without bitterness of spirit and in the fullness of faith that the spirit alone lives.

To seek to win in a clash of arms would be pure bravado. Not so, if in defying the might of one who would deprive me of my independence I refuse to obey his will and perish unarmed in the attempt.

In so doing, though I lose the body, I save my soul, i.e., my honour.

But, says a comforter, "Hitler knows no pity. Your spiritual effort will avail nothing before him."

My answer is, "You may be right. History has no record of a nation having adopted non-violent resistance. If Hitler is unaffected by my suffering, it does not matter. For I shall have lost nothing of worth."

"My honour is the only thing worth preserving. That is independent of Hitler's pity."

NEW EXPERIENCE FOR HITLER

"But as a believer in non-violence, I may not limit its possibilities."

"Hitherto he and his likes have built upon their invariable experience that men yield to force. Unarmed men, women, and children offering non-violent resistance without any bitterness in them will be a novel experience for them."

"Who can dare say that it is not in their nature to respond to the higher and finer forces? They have the same soul that I have."

But says another comforter, "What you say is all right for you. But how do you expect your people to respond to the novel call? They are trained to fight. In personal bravery they are second to none in the world."

"For you now ask them to throw away their arms and be trained for non-violent resistance seems to me to be a vain attempt."

You may be right. But I have a call I must answer. I must deliver my message to my people. This humiliation has sunk too deep in me to remain without an outlet. I, at least, must act up to the light that has dawned on me.

This is how I should, I believe, act if I was a Czech. When I first launched out on *satyagraha*, (non-violent resistance) I had no companion. We were 13,000 men, women, and children against a whole nation capable of crushing the existence out of us.

I did not know who would listen to me. It all came as a flash.

All the 13,000 did not fight. Many fell back. But the honour of the nation was saved. New history was written by the South African *satyagraha*.

FRONTIER TRIBESMEN THROW DOWN ARMS

A more apposite instance, perhaps, is that of Khansaheb Abdul Gaffar Khan, the servant of God as he calls himself, the pride of Afghan as the Pathans delight to call him. He is sitting in front of me as I pen these lines.

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100% Members Peace Pledge Union.

The 48-PAGE ARMISTICE NUMBER OF RECONCILIATION

was sold out by November 2, and no wonder, seeing that it contains articles by George Lansbury, Stuart Morris, Middleton Murry, Henry Carter, Ruth Fry, Mary Gamble, Eric Gill, Muriel Lester, Charles Raven, Alfred Salter, Reginald Sorensen, Alex Wood, Sybil Thorndike, Laurence Housman and others.

It has been reprinted and can be obtained from Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

The price is still 3d. and 4d. post free.

Socialism The End: Pacifism The Means

THE drama through which we have passed has had its cathartic quality. The Socialist Movement, awake at last to the fact that its policy looks very like shouting for war, draws back and begins to consolidate around the few who, seeing more clearly, have stood firmly by their pacifist faith.

Now is our opportunity to prove that socialism being the end, pacifism is the only means. That pacifism is as sterile without its complementary social doctrine as socialism without a pacifist or non-violent technique, is unattainable.

How should we set about it?

Not, I suggest, by dressing up the Communist Party as the devil and hating it, as some writers in *Peace News* would have us believe. Rather we should analyse its beliefs and prove to its members—and they are human beings like ourselves—that their propaganda has failed for lack of a non-violent technique; that their aims, which are similar to ours, are unattainable without it.

WHY bother with them?

Because among them are some of the most skilled and vigorous workers in the Socialist Movement. And some of the acutest thinkers.

Take John Strachey. In his book *What are we to do?* (Gollancz, 1938) he writes:

Even the most justified criticism, if it be

expressed in such a way as to seem biased, rasping and personal can have a merely destructive effect. A failure to allow for these considerations—a kind of inhumanity—has hitherto been the principal flaw in the methods of the spokesmen of scientific socialism. . . . Nor is this a small or subsidiary question concerned merely with their manner, style and tone of voice.

It is such a question; but these things reveal the basic attitude of a writer or speaker to what he is discussing. . . . It will not be until all the spokesmen of scientific socialism have satisfactorily adjusted their own attitude to the Labour Movement that they will succeed in carrying the workers with them.

A man who can write that I submit, is approaching the non-violent position. He has certainly agreed that the right choice of means is vital.

TO pacifists, Strachey poses a dilemma. On the one

hand he shows that capitalism has an inescapable drive toward war. Yet to replace capitalism by socialism, he says, involves a struggle; probably a violent one.

For, says Strachey, power lies with ownership of the means of production, and the present owners will not surrender it without a struggle. The intensity of the

struggle will be in direct relation to the resolution of the government seeking to remove that power and place it under social control.

There will be parliamentary obstruction and "losses of confidence" in the business world. A government pressing on in such circumstances will meet intensified opposition. There may be deliberate sabotage. Ultimately there may be violence.

Who, after the experience of the two Labour governments, can doubt the probability of "loss of confidence" arising?

Who, knowing capitalism, can doubt its reliance on force?

To the pacifist, Strachey's conclusions are unsatisfactory. We sincerely desire to achieve our aim without violence, he says. We shall begin democratically. But the choice of weapons can never be with us. Hence "we reserve the right to meet violence in the only way it can be met, namely, by the quick, short, decisive use of force, in order to prevent the overthrow of democracy."

To the pacifist, I repeat, this means is unsatisfactory: Because inappropriate means will not produce the desired ends.

BUT will that answer satisfy Strachey? In that

form, I agree, no. But there are arguments within his own writings which support our case. He urges, for example, that socialists should "free themselves from the domination of capitalist ideology." Yet on the question of violence he clings only too closely to capitalist conceptions.

"It is always reaction," he says, "which does not hesitate to use violence if it finds that violence will benefit its case." His own attitude is equally opportunist. He will not initiate violence. No. But he will use it, as seen above, if it will benefit his case.

Is not this a double submission to capitalist dominance—in the first place adopting its standards, in the second, admitting its dictation in the choice of means?

Fortunately there is no need to accept this dictation. Our Indian comrades have proved that. We can all learn from them.

And we can learn from Strachey. "The forms of socialist reconstruction," he says, "must be genuinely socialist. They must exclude, that is to say, the exploitation of man by man, the living off the labour of others." I agree. And since war is the final exploitation, I renounce it, both now and as a means to achieve the social revolution.

We must work out the appropriate means.

Meanwhile, let us avoid the creation of devils: yet more devils to hate.

"Catholics Should Refuse to Fight"

NO Catholic could lawfully take part in modern warfare, said Mr. Donald Attwater, a former editor of the *Catholic Herald*, in a lecture to the Link Society in Manchester.

The age-long teaching of the Catholic Church sanctioned recourse to war, but subject to five conditions, not one of which could conceivably be fulfilled by any modern war. If a single one of these conditions was lacking, war was unlawful to Catholics.

"There is no question about it," continued Mr. Attwater. "We have got to refuse to serve; we have got to be conscientious objectors."

He contended that there were many things worth fighting for, but none worth murdering, hating, and sinning for.

The air force was being trained to bomb civilian populations; if and when the time came, an RAF man refused to do these things, he would be shot.

For trying to remake Europe by war in 1914-18 we were paying today. To that war we owed many things—Hitler, Mussolini, and the Bolshevik Revolution. Another war would see an increase of dictators—fascist, communist, or merely military dictators.

ARMISTICE DAY GUIDE

A PACIFIST celebration in Regent's Park, London, on Armistice Day, has been organized jointly by the Women's Cooperative Guild and the Peace Pledge Union. It will include peace music with singing; reading of the Guild Peace Pledge; and observation of the Two Minutes Silence.

The celebration will be followed by a procession from Regent's Park to Baker Street, where paraders will board the train for Central Hall, Westminster, where a meeting will start at 3 p.m.

In view of the larger numbers likely to wish to attend, three Christian pacifist meetings have been arranged for November 11. They are to be held at 7.30 p.m. in each case, not only at the Central Hall, Westminster, and Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, as usual, but also at Friends House.

Canon Charles Raven, the Rev. Henry Carter, and Professor George B. Jeffery will preside, and the speakers, some of whom will go to more than one hall, will include Mr. George Lansbury, the Rev. James Fraser, Miss Mary Gamble, Miss Muriel Lester, Canon Stuart Morris, Mr. Ray Newton, Dr. Alex Wood, and Mr. John S. Stephens.

Armistice Week Play In Bristol

The Bristol Pax Players will be presenting *The Path of Glory* a satirical comedy in three acts, showing the stupidity of war, by L. du Garde Peach, on November 10 and 12.

This Armistice week production will be under the direction of Alec. E. Lavers, and will be produced at the YMCA Hall, Colston Street, Bristol.

Bristol Pax Players will be remembered for their excellent performance of *Flowers of the Forest* by John Van Druten, at a previous Armistice tide.

Rainbow leaflet number two, which has just been issued by Miss A. Ruth Fry, deals with Britain's opportunity and responsibility "to begin building true peace on lasting foundations of understanding and right and not on the sands of violence and domination."

Copies are obtainable (2s. 6d. per 100, 14s. 6d. per 1,000) from Miss Fry at Thorpe Ness, Suffolk.

The War Resister

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The Menin Road



Drawn by A. Longman.

Waving corn, waving corn,
Along The Menin Road,
No longer the beat of weary feet,
In the squelching mud of the battered Road.
The young leaves sigh in the gentle breeze,
Where stood the gaunt arms of blighted trees,
And corn is gold at "Hell Fire Corner,"
Along The Menin Road.

Singing birds, singing birds,
Along The Menin Road,
No longer the shriek of the Howitzer shell,
No longer the torture of man-made hell,
The guns are still and relics wry,
Rusty and shattered forsaken lie,
To tell how many a hero fell,
Where birds are singing in "Sanctuary Wood."
Along The Menin Road.

Roses grow, roses grow,
Along The Menin Road,
No longer the wrenching grip of fear,
To drive brave hearts to shelter near,
There is no "White Chateau"
But white stones glisten—and roses grow,
While children play, and the aged sleep,
And those who were young remember—!
Along The Menin Road.

Sacrifice, sacrifice,
Along The Menin Road,
No longer the hate of man for man—?
The tranquil hush of peace is here,
Where those who died, serenely lie—
In neat little graves, where flowers abound,
And butterflies flutter gaily around,
Whilst each year many on Pilgrimage go,
With a tear of pity for Friend and Foe,
Along The Menin Road.

E. E. DONALDS-WILSON
(Written in 1934)

PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

November 12, 1938

Armistice Message

from

George Lansbury

TWENTY years ago the Great War came to an end. Armistice Day, with its two minutes' silence, is once again being celebrated throughout the world.

People of all classes join together in remembrance of friends and relations who suffered and died during those terrible years of futile struggle and slaughter.

The world is not safe for democracy. Wars have not ceased. At this moment horror upon horror is being piled up in China and Spain. The civilized world is palsied with fear.

Fear, the greatest enemy of the human race, holds rulers and statesmen in subjection. So great is their terror and distrust they all unite in piling up more and more weapons of destruction. A few persons in all lands appear to be so maddened through fear of "what may happen" that they are ready, indeed anxious, to plunge mankind into what they describe as "preventive war" in defence of peace.

Such muddle-headed thinking is beyond me. I simply cannot understand war as a defence of "peace" neither can I understand what the words "preventive war" mean.

✠

THE great majority of people desire that the breathing space gained at Munich shall be used for the purpose of conference and reasoned discussion leading up to a conference of all nations, a conference for the purpose of discussing how the causes of war can be removed, and a start made toward bringing about disarmament.

We pacifists are in line with all reformers. We want complete disarmament and want it now. All the same, we welcome every true effort, however small and by whosoever it is made, as a step, large or small, along the road leading to our goal.

Neither ourselves nor our opponents are rogues or fools. We are just ordinary people, struggling to find a way out of the jungle of horrors into which man's inhumanity to man has plunged the world.

Make no mistake; the thoughts of people are moving our way. Events are convincing statesmen much more effectively than wordy arguments.

We should welcome the statements by leaders of all parties everywhere, who tell us peace will only be assured when the causes of war are removed. This is the basic truth we pacifists for years have shouted from the housetops.

✠

WE cannot undo the past, for which all of us, to a greater or lesser degree, are responsible. We may,

however, determine to avoid such failures in the future.

The saying that we cannot live separate and apart from our neighbours here at home is also true of nations. M. van Zeeland puts this view of international life clearly before us. Mr. Chamberlain will continue his talks with Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini.

These, however, can only prove successful in so far as they help to bring round a conference table representatives of all nations to discuss how to abolish armaments through the removal of the economic, financial, and territorial conditions which cause war.

The van Zeeland document must come

out of the pigeon holes of foreign offices and be considered and acted upon.

✠

FINALLY, comrades, hard and difficult as the road we travel may be, and from my own experience I know it is, set your faces resolutely against the hopelessness which thinks in terms of failure.

There is time, though not too much time; to avert this horrible, stupid catastrophe of war. Out of the evil of today a new outlook on life will come, if we work on and faint not.

We must be worthy of our high calling as comrades in a great crusade for "God

and the People." We must do our utmost to win and preserve unity of aim and purpose, which is not mere uniformity, and at all times realize there is always more and more which we must learn and understand.

Life is neither black nor white. We are all mixtures, but good is more powerful than evil.

Let us, on this Armistice Day, resolve we will not forget the heroism and suffering endured by those who suffered and died in an endeavour to end war and strife through sacrifice in war, and, in our turn, determine to use our lives in an earnest endeavour to discover and work for a more excellent way—the way of reconciliation through cooperation.

1914 . . . 1918 . . . 1938!



When Will Ye Be Wise?

Drawn by E. E. BRISCOE

Amend "Monstrous" Secrets Acts

CONFERENCE PLANS RESISTANCE TO ATTEMPTS TO GAG DISCUSSION

From Our Own Correspondents

A CONFERENCE on the Official Secrets Acts and the freedom of the press, convened in London on Saturday by the National Council for Civil Liberties and the National Union of Journalists, decided three things with almost complete unanimity—a significant fact in view of talk of press control on the part of those aiming at regimentation of the people for war.

1. It adopted a resolution submitted by the conveners—

Drawing attention to the grave threat to liberty contained in the recent application of the Official Secrets Acts to journalists and others; Recalling the explicit assurances that the Acts were intended to deal only with matters vitally affecting the safety of the State; and Urging the immediate amendment of the Acts in such a manner as to confine them to that purpose.

2. It adopted a motion by the Central London branch of the NUJ that a deputation should be appointed to urge upon the Prime Minister the necessity for the amendment of the Acts, and that delegates should be requested to bring pressure to bear upon MPs to support such an amendment, and raise the question in their various organizations.

3. It also adopted a motion by the Battersea branch of the Communist Party that a campaign of publicity and agitation should be launched to bring about the amendment of the Acts.

A "MONSTROSITY"

The Official Secrets Act, in its amended form, was described by Mr. Dingle Foot, MP, as a "statutory monstrosity."

Although, in 1911, the Secretary of State for War said that in every country similar legislation had been passed, but "in no case would the powers it gave be used to infringe the liberties of His Majesty's subjects," in 1920 came the amendment of the Act which included powers which even the Home Secretary himself—at that time—admitted were "exceptional and drastic."

A person was liable to find himself forced to incriminate himself when interrogated by an official acting under cover of the Act.

A search warrant might even be authorized by a police official, when the proper recourse had always been for permission to be granted by a Justice of the

Peace.

"The powers contained in these Acts, if they remain un-repealed, will be used in time to go; discussion, stifle criticism, and to cover up the incompetence of high-placed officials."

Mr. Foot therefore suggested that every effort should be made to secure an amendment of the law in the next Parliamentary session. (This session began on Tuesday). A Bill to amend the Acts has been introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Foot himself.

The chairman (Major Gwilym Lloyd George, MP) remarked that we saw countries around us in which the peoples had been deprived of their liberty. There were forms of government which depended for their success on the "unthinkingness" of their subjects. Freedom of thought was regarded as disloyal to the State.

FILM AND PRESS CENSORSHIP

During the discussion Mr. George Elvin, a representative of the Association of Cine-Technicians, contrasted the treatment meted out to a Peace Pledge Union film with the widespread exhibition of a Territorial Association film as an instance of film censorship.

Some "straight talking" to pressmen came from a Trades Council delegate (Romford and Hornchurch) and a woman delegate from the Independent Labour Party. "As one who has been through the turmoil of several strikes, we have nothing to thank the journalists for," said the former.

Mr. Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman*, came to the aid of journalists by pointing out that they could not get into print just what they liked.

Mr. L. J. White, assistant secretary of the Civil Service Clerical Association, mentioned cases where civil servants had been dismissed simply because they wrote books dealing with certain foreign affairs.

The need for action was emphasized by the secretary of the NUJ, Mr. C. J. Bundock, who cited the case of a journalist who had been a victim of the Acts, and observed how a similar trend of censorship was spreading to the films and the BBC as well.



NATIONAL PETITION for a New Peace Conference

MORE prominent men and women have signed the petition for a new world peace conference which, as we reported last week, is under the direction of the National Peace Council, with the cooperation of the Peace Pledge Union. Already more than a hundred well-known people have signed.

The new signatories are: Lord Meston (President of the Liberal Party Organization); Dame Margaret Lloyd George; Sir Charles Mander; and the Rev. Lansdell Wordle (President of the Methodist Conference).

The petition is open for nation-wide signature. Besides the Peace Pledge Union, the following national organizations have already decided to circulate the petition to their local branches or correspondents:

Railway Clerks Association (600 branches); Holiday Fellowship (which is sending 2,000 forms to its groups); Women's Cooperative Guild (which is also circulating 2,000 copies to local Guilds in the first instance); Friends' Peace Committee (to correspondents and meetings throughout the country); and Women's International League.

The Women's International League is making the petition one of the central features of a special stall under its auspices at the Women's Fair at Olympia, from November 2 to 26.

Lord Mayors and mayors of hundreds of towns throughout the country are being asked to take special steps to encourage local support and to give facilities for public display of the petition.

The following literature will be found useful in spreading the idea of a world conference:

PAMPHLETS
Why Were They Proud? Pacifist Research Bureau, 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, S.E.24. 1s.
The War—As Before? George Glasgow. PPU, 96 Regent Street, W.1. 2d.
War Mongers. Clive Bell, PPU, 2d.
Skeleton of the Empire. Fact No. 3. 6d. Fact, 66 Chandos Street, W.C.2.
Peace Through Economic Cooperation. George Lansbury, 2d. Embassies of Reconciliation, 16 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
The Economic Approach to Peace. Percy Bartlett, 2d. Embassies of Reconciliation.
Key Passages of the Report Presented by M. Van Zeeland. Peace Book Company, 4 Adam Street, W.C.2. 3d.
LEAFLETS
Not Four But All. Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. Free.
Wait a Minute, Please. Friends' Peace Committee. Free.
Peace in Our Time. PPU. 3s. per 1,000; 6d. per 100.
The Present Situation. PPU. 3s. per 1,000.
The Issue. PPU (Welsh National Council). 3s. per 1,000.

POSTERS
Support an International Conference. Friends' Peace Committee.

TWO SMALL STATES: A CONTRAST

From a Correspondent

IN the current issue of *Aldrig mere Krig* the President of the Danish section of the War Resisters' International, Hagbard Jonassen sums up trenchantly the conclusions to be drawn from the fate of Czechoslovakia.

He points out that after the Great War the Allies were so eager to dismember Austria-Hungary that they offered the Czechs large areas with German, Polish, or Hungarian majorities; the Czechs accepted the gifts. At the same time the Allies offered Denmark South Jutland; Denmark said "No, thank you, only that part which wants to join us."

With the incorporation of the big German element, Czechoslovakia assured herself valuable defensive frontiers, from the military point of view. In that respect Denmark got an impossible frontier.

In order to secure her future existence Czechoslovakia made alliances with the big (anti-German) Powers, and got their financial help in building up fortifications and a powerful army. Denmark made no alliances, dismantled military establishments on the frontier, and further reduced her army.

In the critical September days of 1938 Denmark was not prepared. But Czechoslovakia paid the price.

He concludes that now is not the time for rearmament, but for the liquidation of the military apparatus, which cannot offer security, only risk.

London Conference for Clergy

Canon Raven will conduct a ministers' conference on "War and the Christian" in the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club in Thomas Street, Oxford Street, London, W.1, on Thursday. It is greatly hoped that not only will pacifist ministers attend this conference, but that they will bring to it ministers who have not, at present, come fully to the pacifist position, so that the whole problem may be discussed.

Canon Raven has been conducting a series of such conferences in other parts of the country.

The conference will start at 5 p.m., and at 7.15 p.m. Canon Raven will speak at a second session, to which the general public is invited.

Next week's speaker in the series of lunch-hour meetings held in the Dick Sheppard Club, 1.15 p.m. on Thursdays, will be Percy W. Bartlett, secretary of Embassies of Reconciliation.

On November 24 the speaker will be James A. Joyce. Speakers for Thursdays in December are the Rev. R. H. le Messurier, Mrs. Langley Moore, and Canon S. D. Morris.

It is suggested that those who are already convinced pacifists should bring to these meetings others who are interested, but by no means converted. It is realized that members of the audience have to come in late, and others have to go out early.

Emigration for Czechs

A resolution which the Manchester and district branch of the Women's International League has sent to the Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary and local M.P.s, urges the Government

to render every possible aid in the emigration of Czechoslovakian subjects from the ceded areas. Remembering the desperate need of these people, they ask H.M. Government to do its utmost to provide the funds necessary for the transport and settlement in other countries of such emigrants.

Circulation last week . . . 22,764

Gain over previous week . . . 1,242

"Peace News" Conference Agenda

A conference of readers of "Peace News" living in the London and Home Counties Region will be held in London on November 27, at 3 p.m., at 14 Lambs Conduit Street, W.C.1.

There will be three main items on the agenda.

1. The consideration of how to build up circulation.
2. The establishment of an Information Bureau to supply our readers, speakers, and propagandists with facts and figures for every-day use and the preparation of special reports on issues of current importance.
3. To consider the principles of positive pacifism as a contribution to the problems of our age.

★

In view of the breakdown of the political party system, what contribution has the pacifist movement to make and where does it stand in relation to the social wrongs and human injustices which are the root causes of war?

If pacifism is to have a positive influence on the problems of our times, a clear conception of this work is needed.

WILL YOU PLEASE COME AND JOIN IN THE CONSIDERATION OF THESE QUESTIONS? THEY ARE OF MOMENTOUS IMPORTANCE.

If you fill in the form below, credentials and full particulars will be sent to you as well as memoranda which will be the basis of discussion.

"PEACE NEWS" CONFERENCE

London and Home Counties Region.

To BEN GREENE, Circulation Organizer, "PEACE NEWS," 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Please send me a credential, agenda and documents for which I enclose 1s. postal order (cheque) for the "PEACE NEWS" Conference to be held at the A.O.D. Memorial Institute, 14 Lambs Conduit Street, London, W.C.1, on November 27, 1938, at 3 p.m.

NAME (Block letters please).....

ADDRESS

I am ☐ am not a member of the Peace Pledge Union.

WE'VE GOT TO KEEP UP WITH THE JONESES

(as Gracie Fields points out). But how do the Joneses afford all those little extras that add so much to the fun of life? Because they save as well as spend—put their money in St. Pancras Building Society and get four per cent. on their capital—pay no tax on the income—and can always draw a bit when they need it. If you invest with us you will be able to keep up with the Joneses!

Write for the Society's "Guide for Investors."

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY

ST. PANCRAS HOUSE, PARK STREET, LONDON, N.W.1



NEWS from the FOUR CORNERS

LONDON

Leyton

TWELVE hundred people gave a rousing reception to George Lansbury at the Leyton Baths mass meeting, organized by the E.10 and E.11 groups on November 3. The chairman, Reginald Sorensen, M.P. (West Leyton), emphasized the need for toleration, the necessity for constructive peace action and for demonstrating to the world what democracy meant.

The Rev. Henry Carter spoke of his travels with George Lansbury in Europe. Their work was to talk peace with the rulers and statesmen, in whose hands rested the destinies of their peoples. The man who cared for peace must care for mankind.

George Lansbury said he had spoken to almost every ruler in America and on the Continent, and dictators and democrats alike agreed that another big European war would mean the end of civilization.

Man's knowledge was being devoted, in an ever-increasing measure, to destructive, rather than constructive, purposes. Since modern warfare was welcomed by none, it was the pacifist who had become the realist. "Let the nations stand as they are and discuss ways and means of adjusting grievances. Let them talk before there is war, rather than after it."

West London Region

Representatives from six groups were present at a regional conference and social, in Gunnersbury Congregational Church Hall, Chiswick, on October 29.

Reports were given on the activities of the various groups in the region. The Acton group leader, Ralph Mensell, reported that during the past year he had sold 9,000 PPU pamphlets.

John Barclay was there to give an account of work being done all over the country, and George Dudney, of Greenhithe, told of his peace work in the Brotherhood movement.

The conference was followed by a social.

Wood Green

Wood Green group is planning a mass sale of *Peace News* in the High Road, on November 19, from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. Fifty volunteers are needed. (See Notice Board.)

MIDLANDS

Nuneaton

THE Nuneaton Cooperative Education Committee has now become affiliated to the Nuneaton branch of the PPU. This brings the total PPU membership in Nuneaton to 105.

On Monday, the first of a series of monthly branch meetings, was held in the Abbey Street Methodist Church Schoolroom. At these meetings it is intended that individual members will give their views on pacifism.

The first public meeting of the winter will be held on November 14, at 7.30 p.m., in the Cooperative Hall, Abbey Street.

NORTH

Sheffield

A HUNT for premises to suit the requirements of a pacifist centre for Sheffield is in progress. Shops, houses, offices, and an empty public house have all come under the critical scrutiny of the searchers.

But before any decision can be made, the list of guarantors will have to be considerably lengthened. Members are therefore being asked to pay monthly or annual sums for the upkeep of the centre.

On November 15, the group is organizing its first dance, the proceeds of which will be used for furthering the work for peace. It will be held in the Meersbrook Vestry Hall, commencing at 7.30 p.m. Tickets are obtainable from Florence Kellam, 60, Carter Road, Sheffield, 8.

Mr. Premysl Pitter, chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Czechoslovakia, will address the group on November 19, in the Sheffield Educational Settlement, Shipton Street. The meeting will commence at 3.30 p.m.

NORTH-EAST

Newcastle-upon-Tyne

AT a recent meeting of the Newcastle and district branch, it was suggested that members of the branch had become students of pacifism to such an extent that the propaganda side of the work was suffering.

Following this the Heaton group and the newly-formed High Heaton group organized a public meeting in the Tenants' Association Hall, Newcastle, last Sunday, at which addresses were given by a number of young pacifists, with William Tait, a former member of the Independent Labour Party, in the chair.

The meeting represented an attempt to take the principles of pacifism into one of the districts of Tyneside most devoted to the manufacture of armaments in various forms.

Addressing the general meeting of the Newcastle and district branch, on November 2, the need for active propaganda was stressed by John Barclay.

NORTH-WEST

Manchester

AT the request of several members of the Teachers' Group in the Manchester region, a successful meeting of teacher

Items for inclusion in "News from the Four Corners" should in future be sent to Nigel Spottiswoode at Peace Pledge Union headquarters.

pacifists was held in the Friends' Meeting House, Manchester, on October 22.

The meeting was occupied with a discussion on the function of a Teachers' Group within the PPU. It was felt that such a group ought to meet regularly, and have the simplest possible form of organization. For this purpose, two joint Conveners were appointed—Mrs. Margaret Yates, of 19, Torkington Road, Gatley, Cheshire, and Mr. Wilfred Goom, 124, Leigh Road, Westhoughton, Lancashire.

Following upon the recent crisis, ARP activity and the drive for a National Register, teachers were feeling the need of some defined policy. Therefore, at the next meeting, to be held today (Saturday), the whole question of the position of teachers as pacifists in the employ of the State will be discussed, and an attempt made to formulate a policy.

All PPU members who are teachers in the North-Western area, are invited to attend the meeting in the Friends' Meeting House, Manchester, at 10.30 a.m.

SOUTH

Winchester

ARE audiences at PPU meetings, more sympathetic toward the pacifist message than a year ago? This hopeful idea is prompted by the large and attentive audience at the Winchester meeting, last Friday, in the Guildhall.

A year ago, a similar meeting was held when the atmosphere and the questions were not so in agreement with the speakers as they were last week. Dr. Herbert Gray, and Miss Vera Brittain, spoke on "Constructive Pacifism," and Dr. Robertson, a local medical practitioner, presided.

SPONSORS' PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

IN response to a desire that members of the Peace Pledge Union should know what the Sponsors discuss and decide, a short report of their meetings will be published in *Peace News* each month.

At their meeting on November 3, the main items discussed were organization, *Peace News*, and national service.

The question of **organization** had previously been considered in regard to the relationship of the Sponsors to the movement, the headquarters' staff to the Sponsors, &c.

A further discussion showed how unwilling the Sponsors were to bind themselves or the movement by any formal resolution, but it was decided that an informal conference between Sponsors and all the headquarters' staff should be arranged for December 17 and 18, at which the whole work of the PPU could be reviewed.

"Peace News": Questions of the finance of *Peace News* and its policy were discussed and certain recommendations made to the directors of *Peace News*, who were to meet in the near future.

National Service: Sponsors felt the difficulty of any scheme the actual terms of which were as yet unknown. They approved a memorandum previously circulated to them and authorized the issue of it to group leaders.

If necessary, the Sponsors will meet and send further advice when the terms of the measure are made public.

Premises: Authority was given for negotiations in regard to the securing of a freehold property, to be the new headquarters of the PPU. Fuller details will be published as soon as possible.

Canon Sheppard's visit to America: The Sponsors had previously contemplated action in the American courts to recover certain monies which they believed should

Picketing London's Stations

Nearly forty volunteers took part in the mass selling of *Peace News* at London Bridge Station, on November 4, and 184 copies were sold.

Each copy sold contained a leaflet stating that *Peace News* could be bought opposite London Bridge Station, every Friday evening.

A similar leaflet will be placed in the copies to be sold at Liverpool Street Station, on November 18, for which a hundred volunteers are required. All names must be sent to PPU headquarters by November 14.

Those taking part should look out for the *Peace News* car, in the eastern end of Finsbury Circus, and should arrive as soon after 5 p.m. as possible.

Names are also required for a mass selling at Victoria Station, on December 2, between 5 p.m. and 7 p.m. One or two volunteers are required who will undertake to sell outside that station on every Friday evening thereafter.

Those taking part in the mass parades in the West End, this evening (Saturday), should arrive at 96 Regent Street, between 6 p.m. and 8 p.m., according to the plan suggested in *Peace News* last week, where convenient.

All parades should keep to the right side of the road, unless instructed by the Police to do otherwise.

The routes will be as follows:—

Route A: Golden Square, Regent Street, Oxford Circus, Oxford Street, New Oxford Street, Kingsway, Aldwych, Strand, Duncannon Street, Charing Cross Road, Cranbourne Street, Leicester Square, Coventry Street, Piccadilly Circus, Regent Street, Glasshouse Street, Golden Square.

Route B: Golden Square, Glasshouse Street, Regent Street, Piccadilly Circus, Piccadilly, Park Lane, Marble Arch, Edgware Road, Marylebone Road, Baker Street, Orchard Street, Oxford Street, Oxford Circus, Regent Street, Glasshouse Street, Golden Square.

Route C: Golden Square, Denman Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, Cambridge Circus, Charing Cross Road, Tottenham Court Road, Hampstead Road, Camden Town High Street, turn at Camden Town Station Underground, and return to Golden Square by same route.

It will be appreciated if those with experience of poster parades will come prepared to lead parades if required.

Light refreshments will be available at 96 Regent Street, between 5.30 p.m. and 10.30 p.m.

D. L.

Under the Oak Tree

By THEO WILLS

(A weekly article about and in aid of the PPU Home for Basque refugee children at the Oaks, Langham, near Colchester).

NORTHAMPTON TOUR

AS announced last week, all being well, when the present number of *Peace News* is published, a party of eight of our elder children, accompanied by their musical director, Señorita Amada Renouard, will be giving a series of concerts in and around Northampton in aid of the Spanish refugee children in England, including ourselves.

Readers able to go will certainly not regret doing so, both because they will have helped a fine cause, and because they will have witnessed a unique entertainment.

The remaining concerts are as follows:—
Nov. 12—RUSHDEN—Cooperative Hall.

14—NORTHAMPTON—St. Crispin's Hall.

15—MARKET HARBOUROUGH—Jubilee Hall.

16—RUGBY—Temple Speech Room.

17—WELLINGBOROUGH—High School.

18—BRADFORD—Town Hall.

MONTHLY HOME CONCERTS

Although most readers live too far away often to take advantage of the information they will be interested to hear that we have inaugurated a series of home concerts at Basque House which we propose to hold at the first weekend of each month.

In what used to be the billiard room of this house, which has been freshly colour-washed by the boys and has newly improvised stage-lighting, we held on Saturday the first of the series. In this setting, the new programme, new dresses and friendly audience made it on the whole the best concert we have given here.

Readers who are in the district at the beginning of the month will be very welcome at these concerts.

CHRISTMAS

Thanking friends again for their ready response to our appeal for bed linen, we should like now to mention Christmas.

To the Spanish Christmas belong, as we have discovered in conversations with children and staff, many interesting and beautiful customs. An attempt will be made to describe some of these in this column. In the meantime we wish to announce the Basque House Stocking.

The children have already offered to draw in their belts in order to be able to celebrate when the time comes, but they have been dissuaded in the assurance that their friends will make it unnecessary for them to do so.

All appropriate gifts will be extremely welcome, toys, food, and funds toward the Christmas festivities.

All donations should be sent to Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1. They will be most gratefully received.

P.P.U. Christmas Presents

The PPU is again publishing Christmas cards and diaries this year. It is not possible to say at the moment when supplies will be available, but it should be within the next few weeks.

DIARIES

In response to many suggestions, the diary this year is slightly smaller in size than the last. It is bound in green with a replica of the PPU badge in gold.

Single copies will be sold at 1s. 6d. post free, but groups, and other members if they wish, can obtain them at 15s. per dozen, post free. They cannot be supplied on sale or return, except with bookstall parcels for meetings.

CHRISTMAS CARDS

Three Christmas cards are being published, all newly designed for the PPU. One is an attractive card in colour by Audrey Wynne Hatfield, the other two, both in black and white, are by Eric Gill and Arthur Wragg.

The coloured card will be sold at 2d. Orders of two dozen will be sent post free for 3s.

The cards by Eric Gill and Arthur Wragg will be sold at 4d. Orders of a dozen will be sent post free for 3s.

Envelopes will be supplied for all cards.

THREE WOMEN

A new leaflet, with the above title, just published by the PPU, tells how three women "stood on a doorstep in England during the crisis and agreed that they didn't want war."

"And I shouldn't be surprised," said one of them, "if somewhere in Germany there aren't three women standing on a doorstep exactly the same as us, agreeing that they don't want war, and perhaps wondering if somewhere in England there aren't three women . . ."

The leaflet is illustrated, and costs 6d. per 100 or 3s. per 1,000, plus postage.

From the Editorial Chair

Blackstock Road,
London, N.4.

STORM JAMESON, well-known novelist and Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, acted as London President of the PEN for the first time on Tuesday when she took the chair at a dinner for **JULES ROMAINS**, International President, and member of the International Committee.

She is first woman to be elected to the Presidency of the London PEN Centre, and the names of her predecessors show that she is carrying on a worthy tradition, for they were: **JOHN GALSWORTHY** (1921-1933); **H. G. WELLS** (1933-1936); **J. B. PRIESTLEY** (1936-1937); and **H. W. NEVINSON** (1937-1938).

"At this moment of the world's history," another well-known novelist commented to me, "it seems very significant that the new English president should be a pacifist."

The international PEN—an association of Poets, playwrights, Editors, essayists, and Novelists—stands for the promotion of friendship and understanding between nations, and particularly between their writers.

In these days that friendship calls for expression in practical ways, and the English PEN is helping writers in Czechoslovakia, Catalonia, and Austria.

STORM JAMESON herself was an official delegate to Czechoslovakia not very long ago. You will doubtless recollect the article she wrote for *Peace News* on her return, showing so vividly how a pacifist in that country had reacted to the threat of aggression.

"Still Something in Masculinity"

AS she was the first woman to be nominated for the presidency of the London PEN Centre, it was not surprising that the innovation should have provoked some discussion.

She was proposed by **HENRY NEVINSON**, the retiring president. Mr. **HENRY SIMPSON**, however, "while urging nothing against **STORM JAMESON** personally,"—to quote the October issue of *PEN News*—"felt strongly that it would be a mistake to have a woman as president of the London Centre: there was, she said, 'still something in masculinity.'"

But others did not agree with this view, and **STORM JAMESON** was duly elected.

Writers' Responsibility

THE responsibility of writers was pointed out by the new president when writing recently on the aims of the PEN.

"The belief on which the PEN is founded," she wrote, "is threatened not from one side but from many—in the external world and in our minds. We cannot afford to let it die, and if we want to keep it alive we shall have to begin by nursing it in its first growth, that is, in ourselves."

"Between nations, as between persons, trust begins with understanding. When writers can no longer speak and argue freely there will be no possibility of friendship between nations, and the PEN, with every other agent of intellectual cooperation, must founder."

"That day will never come. It could only come through our own tragic and complete failure to obey our conscience as writers."

"In this matter the individual conscience is the judge. A writer cannot surrender his conscience to a party to keep for him. He cannot evade his responsibility to the future, either, by saying that it was not his business to look after the freedom and integrity of the intellect. He has no other business."

Up the Garden Path

I SEE that manufacturers are now suggesting that you should build your bomb-proof shelter at the end of your garden path. Among other attractions is the fact that "in normal times" it is "a useful tool shed, or play-house for children."

Yes, they call these "normal times." A reader who has received a circular about one of these shelters suggests that the crazy paving on the garden path is misnamed: "stark-raving paving" would be nearer the mark.

"Where now," he asks, "the sentiments felt in the rare and exquisite ode?"

With the smile of the Sun for pardon,
And the song of the birds for mirth,
One is nearer God's heart in a garden
Than in any place on Earth.

Peradventures of "Peace News"—No. 13



"I'm thinking you're more intelligent than most human beings."

Drawn by E. E. BRISCOE.

November the 12th

By
JOHN WALLER

IT was the morning after Armistice Day. In the stillness the poppies were calling, the worn drab-looking poppies, with a stem of green paper and a backbone of wire.

Yesterday was their day of glory, when they were sold in the streets and flaunted gaily on the breast. But today they are dull things, lazily placed aside and casually thrown in the rubbish. The dead that lived yesterday in the cheap poppy symbols, are dead once again.

In the dustcart three such poppies were entangled. One was a large expensive flower, a half-crown bloom, with petals of real silk and pollen that shone in the dark. The second was a sturdy sixpenny blossom, with a little white label and a colour of bright red. The last was a poor twopenny thing, sober-looking and twisted, much despised by its two superior companions. Their names were Lord Clarence, George Smith, and Poor Tom.

"We," they said, "are the memories, the frail memories that cannot last out a day. We," they said, "lie here among the dust. But the dead are dust. We are forgotten today, but the dead will not be remembered tomorrow."

So they passed away on the journey to the dump and the smouldering fires. But before they burn, let us remember their stories.

TO be born a half-crown poppy is to be born an aristocrat. Lord Clarence was always a pretty thing, with a touch of the pride that came over with the Conquest. "I am not as other poppies are," he said.

Therefore he had no place in the seller's tray, but sat on a perch, alone and solitary. Little boys might eye him and old men with medals might eye him, but he was not for them.

He must wait till the expensive car draws up at the pavement, and the chauffeur opens the door, and Madam inside calls out "Yes, the larger size, please."

Then he is tenderly exchanged for silver (Madam, of course, pays five shillings), and he discovers a new world in the luxury of the car and the scent of Madam's clothes.

"What a pity poppies are red," she says. "This quite spoils the look of my gown. But one must remember one's husband. Poor James!" She wiped her eyes and thought of him no more.

Then the car drove off, with Lord Clarence seated on Madam's breast, ostentatiously perhaps but still sublime. "This is the life," he said, and he enjoyed himself thoroughly all that day, through the service at the cathedral, the luncheon at the hotel, the 3 o'clock nap, the afternoon tea, the playing at cards, the large dinner, the more playing at cards, and the going to bed.

Then to his surprise, Madam who had treated him so tenderly during the day, unthinkingly plucked him from her, and dropped him into the waste paper basket. He, Lord Clarence, in the waste paper basket! To what indignity was the aristocracy subjected!

GEORGE SMITH, on the other hand, was a more practical flower. "I earn my keep," he said. "We sixpennies are the backbone of the nation. We have no place in the homes of the rich, but at least we are respectable."

He was not surprised, therefore, to be bought by a cheerful young man in a grey suit, who jested with the pretty poppy seller. "In memory of father," he said, but he didn't feel very sad.

Father had died so long ago now, and he was so young, and it was a nice day, and when one works in a bank most of the days of a week, to get an extra holiday like this—well, it was a day for enjoyment.

And so, after the commemoration service which the young man observed punctiliously in the Presbyterian Chapel (he sung

all the hymns and made no mistake over the responses), George Smith found himself whirled across country in a pink sports car, seated next to a pink woman, whom the young man called "Ada."

Then they had lunch in a town some fifty miles away, and went to the pictures, and cuddled, and then had tea, and drove home.

But George Smith didn't mind this. "The young man is respectable," he said, "and these are his respectable pleasures." Nor did he mind, even when on the way back, he fell off the young man's coat and was blown into the gutter.

"Business is bad," he said, "but it's an ill wind that blows no-one any good. Times will change, times will change..."

BUT the saddest tale of all was that of Poor Tom. He was part of a crowd, entangled one with another and spawning like tadpoles on the tray. And his seller was only a fat old lady, for the pretty girls were engaged in selling the

It's only a rumour—No. 5



Sir Kingsley Wood reflects—"How ghastly it must be to die in a gas mask."

more expensive brands. And the little boy who bought him didn't really want to buy him, but his nurse told him he had to, because of dear Jack, his elder brother.

But the boy knew nothing of dear Jack. Dear Jack, they said, had been a tin soldier and had died long ago, long before he was born. So what did he care for dear Jack?

He had lots of tin soldiers, and he wanted now to buy two pennyworth of sticky sweets. "I want lollies," he howled. "green lollies, nice lollies." But it was no use. He had to buy this red wiry thing.

"But I shan't wear it," he said. Then his nurse smacked him, and pinned it on his coat, and said that if he removed it,—well, she'd smack him again.

For the rest of that day he was a sullen, nasty little boy, and at lunch took pleasure in smearing Poor Tom with mustard. At last came the time to go to bed. "Can I take it off now?" he asked plaintively. "Yes, I suppose so," replied his nurse.

Then he seized Poor Tom, and tore him off without undoing the safety pin, and threw him out of the window. And Poor Tom lay on the pavement outside, and it was small consolation to him to know that the little boy was crying because he had pricked his fingers. "Poor Tom's a-cold," he said.

BUT this ends the three poppy sagas of Lord Clarence, George Smith, and Poor Tom. There were lots of other poppies and I daresay they fared much the same. Except for a few which are locked up in a drawer, and kept in tissue paper till next year.

And as they burn on November the twelfth, I wonder if they will think it worth while, to have had the trouble of making, to live for a day to keep people's memories alive, and then to die, forgotten. And perhaps far above them the Forgotten Dead are thinking much the same thing. "Was it worth while? Were our sacrifices worth while?"

National Council for Scotland

Outcome of First National Conference

THE first national conference of the Peace Pledge Union in Scotland was held in Glasgow from Friday to Sunday. It opened with a supper meeting on Friday evening at which Professor G. H. C. Macgregor, Richard Bishop, and John Barclay spoke.

On Saturday afternoon there was a business session. Almost every Scottish region was represented and the decisions of the conference in every instance were unanimous.

In opening the discussion on the PPU in Scotland, the organizing secretary moved that Richard Bishop should take the chair. The secretary then addressed the meeting on the purpose and the aims of the conference, and his quotations from Max Plowman's Report to the first annual general meeting were loudly applauded.

The conference then agreed on the motion of John Barclay, seconded by the secretary, and enthusiastically supported from the chair, to send a telegram of thanks and good wishes to Andrew Stewart, whose hard work and courageous spirit had done so much to help forward the work of the PPU in Scotland.

FINANCE

Mr. W. Niven and Andrew White, JP, of Glasgow region, whose services to the movement while in process of national development have been considerable, led the discussion on finance.

By their honest and fearless attitude to this very difficult subject the conference was enabled to see the nature of the financial responsibility which they were undertaking in forming a national council.

The newly appointed treasurer, Mr. John Glover, revealed his fine grasp of the situation, and in optimistic spirit pledged him-

Group Notes

THE RISING TIDE

IT is a year since Dick Sheppard died but his influence is stronger than ever; his wonderful vitality had so permeated the movement that his inspiration has remained to give it purpose.

Everywhere new groups are being formed and new energy is breaking out every week. I have just returned from a visit to Newcastle, Sedbergh, and Glasgow (where I spent three days at the first Scottish conference). Let me say right away that the new Scottish Council is "the goods!"

In the meantime, to return to Newcastle. It was particularly interesting to visit this area again, as I remember so well the day we formed the group, a scattered few in a large hall, hopes running high before the night—hopes that visualized a packed hall and a cheering and enthusiastic crowd, but experience has shown that the start made by twelve to twenty keen, determined people is much better than a football crowd that shouts and scatters after the match is over.

Newcastle is now a large and flourishing group, the most progressive section of the local community and has a dynamic centre from which a great deal of work is being organized. Thomas Large, the group leader,

(Continued from col. 1)

self to the conference to see to it that the funds of the PPU in Scotland were husbanded with every possible care. John Barclay's contributions to the discussion were very happy and encouraging, and resulted in an immediate donation of £10 to Scottish funds.

The conference concluded on Sunday evening with a Dick Sheppard memorial meeting over which Professor Macgregor presided, and at which Mr. John Barclay, the Rev. C. Vincent Williams, and Canon Morris spoke.

Poster parades and an open-air demonstration were also held during the weekend and a Scottish Council was set up.

The PPU in Scotland, encouraged by this consolidation, goes forward with renewed and increased power to next year's work.

is backed up by a grand committee and the meeting we held on that Wednesday night showed that during the next three months the work of the group will be doubled.

Sedbergh, although a small place, is a link in the chain which binds the north-east with the north-west. Only when we have the small towns "pacifist conscious" will the full work of the PPU be felt. Sedbergh and similar places are doing the real pioneer work in the country.

Conference of Scottish Groups. A full report of this conference appears elsewhere in the paper, but I want to add more details of the weekend activities.

On Saturday morning we had a poster parade lasting one hour through the main streets, and again on Sunday afternoon, when we laid a wreath of white and red poppies on the Cenotaph.

A large crowd had gathered to see a military display which was almost due, so that we had a large audience for our simple ceremony. The wreath bore the following inscription: *In memory of men of all countries who died in the last war—Peace Pledge Union. We renounce war and will never again support or sanction another.*

An open-air meeting was held in the Exchange Square between 3.30 p.m. and 5.15 p.m. at which a large crowd gathered and many questions were asked and answered.

The whole conference was a great success, largely owing to the splendid chairmanship of Richard Bishop, chairman of the Welsh PPU.

On Sunday evening a splendid audience came to the Dick Sheppard Memorial meeting in the St. John's Hall, Sauchiehall Street. Canon Stuart Morris was the chief speaker, the others being the Rev. Vincent Williams, and myself. Professor Macgregor of Glasgow University was in the chair.

This weekend marks the beginning of the Scottish movement, and there is no doubt whatever that with Wales and Scotland firmly established the tide of pacifism is rising steadily.

By John Barclay

The Notice Board

Meetings

West Notwood group meets on second and fourth Tuesdays in Room 4, St. Luke's Church Hall (near tram terminus). Study circle (to study Gregg's *The Power of Non-Violence*), meets in members' houses in rotation—usually first and third Tuesdays.

Peckham.—Friends' Meeting House, Highshore Road, every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Poster Parades

Volunteers for parades in West End on Sunday evenings. Meet outside Friends House, Euston Road, 6.45 p.m.

Mass parades in West End today (Saturday). See page 10.

Relay parade, Edgware to Greenwich via Regent Street on December 3. Full details later.

Parades from 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, every Saturday at 6.45 p.m. and 8.45 p.m.

Southend.—Men are asked to send names for mass poster parade to John Long, 549 London Road, Westcliff. A hundred men wanted to show Southend the pacifist way. Further details later.

Special parades are to be held from headquarters, 96 Regent Street, W.1, on Tuesdays, at 6.30 p.m. and 8.15 p.m. and continuing until further notice.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Holloway.—Volunteers urgently required for mass selling at Nag's Head on November 19, from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. Names and time available to Will Hayden, 76 Calabria Road, London, N.5.

Wood Green High Road from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. on November 19. Meet Spouters' Corner at 2.45 p.m. Fifty sellers wanted. Write K. M. King, 14 St. Michael's Terrace, London, N.22.

Liverpool Street station on November 18 from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. Victoria station on November 2 from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. See page 10.

Taunton.—Volunteers each week. Apply Mrs. K. Bryant, Leycroft Farm, Taunton.

Newton Abbot.—Every Friday. Also volunteers for special selling at Newton Abbot, on November 12, at 6 p.m., and at Torquay on November 26, at 6 p.m.

Miscellaneous

What do you do with your old copies of *Peace News*? Miss Kathleen Hoskin, 2 Quintrel Road, Newquay, Cornwall, would be glad to give a list of names and addresses of people in Germany, Switzerland, France, and England who would welcome them to read. All inquiries should enclose a stamped envelope for reply.

Donald G. Groom is no longer secretary of Reading group. On November 22 he will leave England to join the Quaker Relief Unit in Barcelona.

Wanted urgently, books for Peace Library. Can be left at Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road, Bournemouth, any Monday from 7.30 p.m. to 9 p.m.

Bridgend, Glamorgan.—Members in this district please communicate with Mr. Glyn Howe, Arosfa, St. Brides Major, Bridgend, Glamorgan.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 96 Regent St., London, W.1

Phone: REGENT 2843

"Things we want you to know"

NOVEMBER 12, 1938

THE NEW SERIES NOW READY

"HAVELOCK ELLIS SAYS—" All at
"GEORGE GLASGOW SAYS—" 6d. 100
"LAURENCE HOUSMAN ASKS—" 4/- 1000
Plus Postage (2½d. 100) (9d. 1000)

AT LAST

A PEACE BOOK FOR YOUNG PEOPLE
"NEW VALOUR"
By Antoinette Devonshire
with introduction by Vera Brittain
Price 2/-
Post Free 2/4

PLATFORM

PAMPHLET No. 3

"PEACE THROUGH SOCIAL JUSTICE"

A Speech by
Mr. HAROLD BUTLER,
C.B.
Director of International
Labour Organisation

Price 3d.
Postage 1d.

THE MANIFESTO

1/- - - - 100
10/- - - - 1000
Plus Postage

"THE CRISIS"

A message to members of the PPU
by LORD PONSONBY
NOW READY. 6d. per dozen
Plus Postage (2d.)

"THREE WOMEN"

An illustrated leaflet
emphasising the common
desire for peace amongst
the
PEOPLES
of the world
6d. per 100
3/- per 1000
Plus Postage

Now Ready

"DESTRUCTION or CONSTRUCTION"
WILFRED WELLOCK'S
Open Letter to the Labour
Party
Price 1d.
(postage ½d.)

Dear Sir . . .

PACIFIST INFLUENCE

IN the article entitled "The Alternative Government" in the issue of October 29, you say that you do not think me right in indicating that I would have voted for Mr. Hogg in the Oxford election, and you certainly suggest that it would not have been right to vote for Mr. Lindsay.

Ought pacifists to have abstained, and if so, ought they always to abstain from voting unless there is a pacifist candidate? Then what about their duty as democrats?

SANDERSON.

The Hill House, Northrepps, Cromer.

I am very interested in Lord Sanderson's article, "Passive Resistance is Not Enough" (*Peace News*, November 5), and thoroughly agree with him that the members of the PPU should concentrate on the measures most likely to stop any future war.

What worries me, however, is that if we believe in or support ARP, are we going against our pledge that we renounce war and will never support or sanction another? Does ARP sanction war?

I am prepared to admit that the

academic problem of whether ARP sanctions a war or not does not get us very far, but if a conscientious member of the PPU does much to further the ends of the union that person has no time at his disposal to help in ARP work.

I agree with Lord Sanderson that we should try to stop any future war; but how? I am rather surprised that *Peace News* has not urged its readers more often to write, and to get people who do not fully accept the pacifist position to write, to the Prime Minister, local MPs, local newspapers, and so on.

I consider that by this means we are more likely to get our views—world conference, and subsequent disarmament—brought home to the Government; for we have to convince the Government, and to me it seems that poster parades and distribution of handbills, whilst very desirable, do not get to the very people whom we wish to impress.

R. E. GOODRICH.

38 Meadway, Barnet, Herts.

WHY PREPARE FOR WAR?

I have not yet heard any valid reason as to why, if we really believe in peace, we should prepare for the eventuality of war. The following are some of the replies I have received at various times from various individuals; but to me they are absolutely unconvincing.

1. Because other nations are doing the same.

But one nation has to set the example of disarmament, and as we are supposed to be the leading country for peace, it is up to us to prove our belief in human nature. I have never yet heard that two blacks made a white.

2. Hitler cannot be trusted.

This remark might well be made by the warmongers, but not by those who professed to trust his word after the Munich Agreement.

3. Even if Hitler is to be trusted, others may take his place, whom we cannot trust.

Then if this is possible, it is up to us to make friends with all the German leaders, and, above all, with the German nation.

4. Hitler may try to grasp more and more if he is not watched and we are not prepared.

This is a little more difficult on the surface; but I think all true peace-lovers are not worried as to possessions, prestige, &c. This life is but temporary, and all we need is to try and live as peaceably as possible with all men.

5. That if we were to disarm, Hitler would immediately come over and destroy us.

Would he? I have very grave doubts as to this. From what I know of all dictators and lovers of power, they all desire the glory of conquest, and it would be a very poor thing to take possession of a country totally unarmed and without any wish to defend itself.

Finally, when one has read the above replies, I am afraid one is forced to admit that they all arise out of fear and lack of trust in human nature; and until we can have the courage of our convictions, I cannot see the possibility of any permanent peace.

E. CONINGSBY.

London, S.W.19.

A "CRIME"—AND THE PUNISHMENT

I've committed a "crime"; I'm expecting a baby, and domestic servants shouldn't have babies. It isn't God's fault that the wonderful gift he has sent my husband and me may chance to be born to parents without either a job or a home.

There may be a chance, perhaps, of a little hope and a little help being given us by your readers after reading this letter. It is the only way out I can think of, after answering dozens of futile advertisements in various dailies and weeklies, visiting Labour Exchanges and agencies in vain and making personal inquiries.

The advertisement inserted in this paper some weeks ago called forth only one reply, which also proved futile, owing to the fact of there being no accommodation for me or an infant. There doesn't seem to be any accommodation anywhere for us; people who employ chauffeur-gardener-handyman want his wife to be free of "encumbrances" (that is a certain type of employers' name, I believe, for servants' babies) in order that she is entirely free to help her husband earn his living, or, is it perhaps in order that her body and soul and womanhood should be dedicated entirely to the employer's needs—his food, his house, his babies?

We are in a job at this moment; our employer has kindly allowed us to stay on in our job as gardener and cook-general until we find another job.

I am 33; my husband is 48, and we both have excellent personal references.

Please is there anybody anywhere who will help us?

DORA COOPER.

King's Farm, Balcombe, Sussex.

WOMEN AND RED POPPIES

Some time ago I came into contact with a man who was slowly dying of tuberculosis, contracted during the War.

He told me that he and a friend, similarly afflicted, were taking a little walk outside the sanatorium when a woman came up and offered them a poppy. He said, "My mate wouldn't look at her; he turned his back on her and walked away."

I have often wondered if his mate felt as I feel about red poppies. I marvel that we dare touch one, we women who stayed safely in England and allowed our men to be pushed out into hell. For they were pushed out.

When I hear women sentimentalizing over the red poppies, as I so often do hear them, women who during the War were active with white feathers, I feel that it is just as though I were listening to the woman in the sleigh who threw out all her children, one by one, to keep the wolves at bay, sentimentalizing when she landed safely at home over the little shoes of her dead babies.

G.

ARMISTICE FOR SPAIN?

There appears to be no doubt that the Anglo-Italian Pact is shortly to be ratified and that the grant of belligerent rights to General Franco will shortly follow. This will mean that the supply of food to Government Spain will be much more interfered with than at present and the distress and suffering which this unfortunate country is already experiencing will be greatly intensified.

I suggest, therefore, that a new effort should be made to obtain an armistice in Spain. Since the question was first raised twelve months ago public opinion in this country has been increasing in support of this proposal, but so far there has been no direct debate in Parliament upon it.

I suggest that the next step should be to have a motion moved in the House of Lords urging the Government, in consultation with other European Powers, to approach both sides in Spain with a view to arranging an armistice.

R. S. W. POLLARD.

147 The Grampians, Western Gate, W.6.

MANCHESTER CONVENTION

Will you allow me to make an appeal to readers in Manchester and the northern areas to support the Land Values Convention which is to be held in the Houldsworth Hall, Manchester, on November 26?

There are three resolutions, the first of which deals with tariffs and trade restrictions as being main causes of international disputes and wars, and the convention will urge the Government to call a world conference to consider the Van Zeeland Report and the removal of all barriers to international trade.

The other two resolutions deal with the rating of land values and the general question of land monopoly and the taxation system based on it.

These have a direct bearing on peace propaganda, as it is obvious that no government can sacrifice its great revenues from tariffs, &c., unless there is a new alternative source of income, and this can only be found from the taxation of land values now that everything else that can be taxed has been taxed.

DOUGLAS J. J. OWEN.

651 Didsbury Road, Heaton Mersey, nr. Manchester.

The Soviet Union

MR. CHILVER in his otherwise sound letter of October 29, says, in reference to the need for the people to own and to control the means of production, that: "This has not been done in Russia, as many people seem to imagine." Mr. Harvey-James, in the November 5 issue, endorses this statement.

Now this is interesting. I was always under the impression that whatever the faults (real or alleged) of the Soviet Union may be, public ownership and control of the means of production was one of their basic achievements. The whole of the Soviet economic and political system would be quite unworkable if the means of production were not, in fact, in public hands.

The New Economic Policy (a policy of economic expediency, involving a limited and strictly controlled restoration of capitalist enterprise, but not a sacrifice of principle) which the Soviet Union resorted to in its early and terribly difficult days, has long been liquidated.

All ownership of the means of production is now vested either (a) in State enterprises, under the joint control of the Soviets and trade unions, or (b) in "artels"—associations of owner-producers (mainly the collective farms) in which the basis of remuneration is payment of a definite share of the financial yield of production to each of the owner-producers according to the amount of work done.

There is no such person as a wage-labourer (involving exploitation of a man's labour for profit) employed in these artels. Every member of an artel is a part-owner.

Even the wage earners in the State enterprises are by no means on the same basis as the wage earners in capitalist countries. The Soviet worker has a very real control (both through his soviet and his trade union) over the disposition of the profits made in the particular enterprise for which he works—that is, how much of the profit shall go to increase his wages, how much shall be devoted to communal requirements (new hospitals, creches, theatres, cinemas, libraries, &c.), and finally, how much shall be carried forward in capital investment for new machinery, expansion of the enterprise, and so on.

ALEXANDER C. SPENCE.

22 Milton Road, Highgate, N.6.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

It is very important that we pacifists should not mistake the action of the British Government over Czechoslovakia for a peace policy.

The true peace policy has been defined by Gandhi—viz., passive resistance to aggression. The Government, or Chamberlain, policy is to throw the weaker nations to the wolves, whether it be China, Abyssinia, Spain, or Czechoslovakia, so as to save our own skins and retain our own conquests.

The war in Palestine should be a sufficient proof of what British policy actually is. The League policy of so-called "collective security" is now shown to be disastrous to all who have trusted in it.

If Britain is to give a lead to other nations we must first of all take the beam out of our own eye.

JOSEPH SOUTHALL.

13 Charlotte Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, 15.

On October 19 an article appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* with the heading "Munich Agreement worse than Versailles," and based on the statement that the Czechs formed 34 percent of the population of the ceded areas.

On October 20, a map was published with footnotes stating that there were less than 400,000 Germans left in Czechoslovakia and about 800,000 Czechs in the ceded areas.

I wrote to the editor indicating that there must have been at least 2,800,000 Germans and 800,000 Czechs in the ceded areas, i.e., 78 percent Germans and 22 percent Czechs (the percentages of Czechs and Germans in old Czechoslovakia, but reversed). My letter was acknowledged but not published.

STANLEY JOHNSON.

189 Swinton Hall Road, Manchester.

Points from Letters

Kingsley Hall, in the East End of London, has been a pacifist centre and continued even through the last war. We are now badly in need of helpers, especially a pianist for a Sunday, teachers in the graded school, and help with the babies' creche on Wednesday and Friday afternoons.

GODFREY PAIN.

Kingsley Hall, Powis Road, Bow, E.3.

One of the problems that has hardly been touched yet is that of the compulsory or semi-compulsory OTCs and Cadet Corps in our schools. I believe that old scholars have the best opportunity of approaching the various school governing bodies. I was educated at Christs Hospital and I should be glad to hear from any other pacifist Old Blues who would be prepared to go into the question with me of the best way of approaching the school authorities and trying to counteract the harm I believe to be done through the training undergone by the boys in the OTC.

PHILIP C. HYATT.

12 Monica Court, Lewin Road, S.W.16.

Non-Violent Resistance

AS we seem at last to have decided to thrash out the burning question of pacifism and air attack, perhaps I may attempt a further and fuller reply to Mr. S. C. W. Gill. His second letter sets a problem of prime importance: "Of what use is non-violent resistance by a pacifist minority against modern air attack?"

Now, although Mr. Gill understands the psychology of non-violent resistance, he apparently fails to recognize that in certain circumstances its practical application is not merely useless, but impossible.

The example quoted by Gregg are those of one unit employing non-violent resistance against another unit. In war whole nations are the units. Each unit is concerned with resistance, the nature of which depends on whether the unit is predominantly militarist or pacifist.

So a pacifist minority, by adopting a non-violent attitude, is at variance with the other far greater and decisive factor of the unit. Thus no pacifist minority of a non-pacifist unit would actually use non-violent resistance, for the simple reason that such resistance is, by logical definition, the co-operative action of the unit.

In fine, the pacifist minority would adopt a non-violent attitude. It would not, and could not, practice non-violent resistance. I hope it is now clear that such is a contradiction in terms.

The thorniest question is whether ARP is compatible with this non-violent attitude.

Let me say immediately that I do not believe pacifists will even agree about the non-violent aspects of this. It calls for a personal decision.

For myself, I see no great objection to ARP; it gives the pacifist some idea, however little, of how to save life and alleviate suffering. But, in common with Lord Sanderson, I am sorry that pacifists should fret unduly over matters which allow such indecision.

However he regards ARP, the pacifist would obviously be repudiating his first principle if he had recourse to any form of violent resistance. And the very renunciation of such methods may have some immediate constructive effect. That, above all, constitutes the non-violent attitude of the pacifist in time of war.

Bearing these things in mind, I urge pacifists to take the large view. Only then shall we persuade the Government to adopt the pacifist policy. I know of no other policy more logically conducive to a real and lasting peace.

J. C. HALL.

Oriel College, Oxford.

ABOLITION OF POVERTY

Of the many reforms suggested for the abolition of poverty, or lack of private property, the socialist remedy seems among the less likely to win in our time, election results showing no great desire for public ownership.

Yet I think the anti-socialist agrees that the monetary laws are also the cause of poverty, and would support candidates pledged to alter them. Monetary reform as a battle-cry for Labour would, I think, be a quicker road to the ending of poverty in the midst of potential plenty than the slogan of public ownership.

WILLIAM MEDLOCK.

5 Shayfield Drive, Benchill, Wythenshawe, Manchester.

DEMOCRATIC RESPONSIBILITY

Captain Philip Mumford (*Peace News*, October 29) suggests that as we live in a "democratic State" we have no right, as a minority, to refuse payment of taxes for purposes which the majority approve. In this case, it seems, the minority must comply with the wishes of the majority.

But I imagine that Captain Mumford, as a Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, and therefore, I suppose, a pacifist, would refuse to fall in with the wishes of a democratic majority which saw fit to plunge this country into a war which, unlike that in Palestine, would have a direct effect on the British people, Captain Mumford included.

There seems to be an inconsistency somewhere. Either Captain Mumford must agree to cooperate with the "democratic majority" in all circumstances, or he must be prepared to approve non-cooperation with that majority by persons of pacifist principles, even when the direct personal question of taking an active part in a war-machine is not involved.

But perhaps Captain Mumford can justify his present attitude.

CECIL DAVIES.

4 Handel Street, London, W.C.1.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

POINTS FOR THE PLATFORM

After Twenty Years

MEN are still dying from injuries received in the Great War.

The *Daily Telegraph* reported on October 5, that, "of the 41 new cases admitted during the past year to the St. Dunstan Homes for Blinded Soldiers, Sailors, and Airmen, fourteen were the result of poison gas inhaled twenty years ago."

St. Dunstan's 23rd annual report states that there are now forty of these "late gas cases" in the institution; others are known to be coming.

By the end of March there were nearly 2,700 persons in the Empire who were blinded as a result of the Great War.

America and Europe

FOLLOWING were the German and Italian reactions to President Roosevelt's recent pronouncement on foreign affairs:

Italy.—The Roosevelt speech has come as a surprise to political circles in Rome, where it is regarded as being much stronger than any since his "quarantine" speech at Chicago. It is learned that the Government views with sympathy Mr. Roosevelt's suggestion of a disarmament conference on arms limitation, but strongly objects to the reasons the President gave for putting the blame for the present fever on the totalitarian Powers.

Germany.—President Roosevelt is taken to task for stating that there could be no peace so long as the threat of war was used as an instrument of national policy.

Dr. Halffeld, the Berlin correspondent of the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, declares that "moral sermons" come badly from the United States—a country that had "never worn kid gloves when it had to deal with those who stood in its way."

If Mr. Roosevelt spoke of the destruction of helpless people with reference to the Jews in Germany, he should be reminded of the fate of the American Indians.

—*Daily Telegraph*, October 28.

War Industry in Peace-time and—

IN the course of an article published on November 2, the Financial Editor of the *Manchester Guardian* declared that

those who oppose any reorganization of industry for the quicker and larger output of arms usually point out that it would make the ultimate return to peace-time production increasingly difficult. In support of that argument they can point not only to the troubles of the heavy industries of this country after the last war but to the present state of Germany's industry, which almost precludes a change-over because of the great loss of capital and employment involved.

Peace Industry for War-time

BECAUSE "this year's good grain harvest has disclosed a shortage of granaries in which to store supplies against an emergency," reported *The Times* on November 2. "Field-Marshal Göring has commissioned Herr Backe, Secretary of State in the Food Ministry, to institute as an especially urgent task within the next few months a programme for the building of storage accommodation for grain."

Facts to Remember

IN an article in the *Daily Herald* on October 21, H. M. Tomlinson wrote:

There was a great war for liberty and other fine things. It had to be that, for young men won't fight for anything that cannot be blessed at the altar. Our young men were victorious. And what happened as soon as they could lift their heads above the parapets? The Khaki Election of 1918, one of the foulest episodes in our history.

Money and the Interests took advantage of a war atmosphere, in which all war must end, to get control of us again before the soldiers who had saved their king and country had finished burying their dead.

Out of that election came the Treaty of Versailles, described when it was published as the death warrant for the next generation.

Twenty years after the last shot, and the cheering victory changes sides, and goes to the vanquished. After spending a million lives, and £8,000 millions sterling, what has one to show for it? Free gas masks! That is all.

Perhaps we had better remember such simple facts, known to gardeners but below the notice of statesmen, as that like begets like, whether mangolds or guns. That fools should not be answered according to their folly. That it is no good shouting at an angry man. That pride may be left to its ways: it is sure to go too far. That facts are not values.

A Cause of Grievances

I AM an isolationist," said Lord Arnold, "but I am not an isolationist when it comes to a question of economic appeasement."

Great Britain and the United States between them owned about two thirds of the economic mineral wealth of the world, leaving one third for the other sixty countries. "Is that fair? Is that right? Are you surprised to find grievances and unrest on the Continent? It is things like that which lead to war."

From a speech at Bromley, Kent.

—*Daily Express*, October 21.

Diary of the Week

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers; organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

November

11 (Fri.) **SPECIAL ARMISTICE DAY CELEBRATIONS**, 11 a.m. Regents Park, 3 p.m. Central Hall, Westminster; Mr. George Lansbury, Mrs. M. Pavitt, Canon Stuart Morris, Miss Vera Brittain, Mrs. Theo Naftel; Women's Cooperative Guild, and PPU.

BIRMINGHAM; 1 p.m. Bull Ring; Armistice Day meeting; No More War Movement.

BOURNEMOUTH; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; United Armistice Meeting; John Barclay; PPU.

COLCHESTER; 7.30 p.m. Culver Street Methodist Church; Armistice Evening Service; Rev. Paul Cliddon, Miss Ruth Fry, Rev. W. C. Jacobs; leader: Rev. L. Tizard; For.

LONDON; 7.30 p.m. Simultaneous Armistice Meetings at the Central Hall, Westminster, Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, and Friends House, Euston Road; George Lansbury, Rev. James Fraser, Mary Gamble, Muriel Lester, Canon Stuart Morris, Ray Newton, John S. Stephens and Dr. Alex Wood. Chairman: Canon C. E. Raven, Rev. Henry Carter and Prof. George B. Jeffery. Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.

SOUTHAMPTON; 7.30 p.m. Central Hall (Assembly Hall) St. Mary's Street; Dr. Konrad Fels on "Peace in Europe"; chairman: Rev. F. J. Pope; For and PPU.

SWANSEA; 7.30 p.m. Wesley Mission Hall; W. J. Jenkins and Gwynfor Evans; PPU.

WEYMOUTH; 7.30 p.m. Congregational Church, Gloucester Street; Rev. A. F. G. Christie and Rev. R. Lawrence Jones; Weymouth Peace Group.

SCARBOROUGH; 7.45 p.m. Central Hall, Queen Street; Laurence Housman and Rev. William Wallace (chairman); PPU.

ALTON; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Rev. R. Le Messurier; PPU.

LIVERPOOL; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Hunter Street; Richard R. Wood and others on "The Road to Peace"; chairman: Rev. Kenneth Dykes; Society of Friends, Christian Pacifist Groups and PPU.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE; 8 p.m. Town Hall; Mrs. V. C. Burston and Harold Bing; For.

12 (Sat.) **HANLEY**; 3 p.m. and 6 p.m., New Council Chamber, Town Hall; one day school; Wilfred Wellock; PPU.

SOUTH MOLTON; 7.30 p.m., Assembly Rooms; Canon Stuart Morris; PPU.

CLAPTON; 7.45 p.m. Clapton Congress Hall, Linscott Road; Peace Pageant presided over by Miss Vera Brittain (tickets 1s. and 6d., obtainable at the door); Salvation Army.

13 (Sun.) **NOTTING HILL GATE**; 11 a.m., Lindsey Hall, The Mall; C. H. Cole on "The Real Revolution"; Free Religious Movement.

PLYMOUTH; 3 p.m., Assembly Hall, Mutley Plain; Canon Stuart Morris; PPU.

TAUNTON; 6.30 p.m., Mary Street Chapel; Mrs. Hector and Mrs. Richard Webster (Women's Cooperative Guild) and Rev. J. W. Lee.

CRAWLEY; 7.45 p.m. Congregational Schoolroom; Dr. D. A. Crow on "Imperialism or Peace: Which do you Choose?"; chairman: Rev. K. Rawlings; PPU.

NORTHAMPTON; 8 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street; Canon Denis Fletcher and Rev. Constance Colman; PPU.

LANCASTER; 8.15 p.m., Friends' Hall; Wilfred Wellock, Rev. Ernest Foster and Rev. E. Graves (chairman); PPU.

NEWTON ABBOT; 8.15 p.m., Imperial Cinema; international peace meeting; Canon Stuart Morris, Eddie Jamal (Palestine), M. Abbas (Sudan), D. El Rayes (Egypt); chairman: Rev. W. I. F. Huxtable; PPU.

14 (Mon.) **NUNEATON**; 7.30 p.m. Cooperative Hall, Abbey Street; James Hudson and Dr. Konrad Fels; PPU.

15 (Tues.) **LONDON, N.W.1**; 1.20 p.m., Friends House, Euston Road; Rev. James Barr on "The Politics of Pacifism"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

HOLLOWAY; 8 p.m., Camden Road Baptist Church; Rev. A. H. Hawkins; PPU.

16 (Wed.) **TOWER HILL**; 12.30 p.m., Open-air meeting; Canon Stuart Morris and John Broughton; City PPU group.

PECKHAM; 8 p.m., All Saints, Sumner Road; opening meeting of new group; Kenneth Lee; PPU.

STOCKPORT; 8 p.m., Central Hall, Hillgate; film show *J'Accuse*; PPU.

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(Continued from Col. 2)

WESTMINSTER; 8 p.m., 194 Vauxhall Bridge Road; Stephen Noel on "Current Affairs in the Light of Pacifism"; PPU.

WORTHING; 8 p.m., Mitchell's Arcade Café; John Barclay; PPU.

OXFORD; 8.15 p.m., 115 High Street; J. D. Beresford; Oxford University Pacifist Association.

17 (Thurs.) **LONDON, E.C.4**; 1.10 p.m., 13 Paternoster Row; Maurice Rowntree on "Which Way to Peace?"; City PPU group.

LONDON, W.1; 1.10 p.m., King's Weigh House Church, Thomas Street; Percy Bartlett.

LONDON, W.1; 5 p.m., Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; Ministers' conference on "War and the Christian," conducted by Canon C. E. Raven; 7.15 p.m., public session.

LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m., 13 Paternoster Row; business meeting; City PPU group.

LONDON, W.1; 7.15 p.m., King's Weigh House Church, Thomas Street; Canon C. E. Raven.

NORBURY; 8 p.m., Norbury Library Lecture Hall; Rev. R. H. Le Messurier on "Christianity and Pacifism"; PPU.

18 (Fri.) **BOURNEMOUTH**; 8 p.m., Bournemouth Little Theatre Club, Club Room (Hinton Road Entrance); debate: "The PPU Manifesto, a practical basis for World Peace"; PPU.

ELTHAM; 8 p.m., Methodist Church Hall, Westmount Road; Roy Walker; PPU.

19 (Sat.) **TOTNES**; 8 p.m., Dartington Hall; film show; PPU. Also on 20 (Sun.) at 2.30 p.m.

19-20 (Sat.-Sun.) **SUSSEX DOWNS** (Jevington Youth Hostel, near Eastbourne; international weekend rally; further particulars from S. W. Fullerton, 5 Selsdon Road, West Norwood, S.E.27.

20 (Sun.) **HIGHAMS PARK**; 3 p.m., Regal Cinema; Vera Brittain, Rev. Alan Balding, Ben Greene, William Turner, and John Barclay (chairman); PPU. Admission free; reserved tickets (6d.) from: 55 Richmond Avenue, Highams Park.

TODMORDEN; 8 p.m., Cooperative Hall; Cecil H. Wilson on "What are we in the world for?"; chairman: Rev. J. R. Brightman; PPU.

SALISBURY; 8.15 p.m., Church Street Methodist Church; Canon Stuart Morris; PPU and For.

COMING SHORTLY

November

21 (Mon.) **WORKSOP**; 7.30 p.m., Central Hall; Dr. Konrad Fels and Cecil H. Wilson; PPU.

SALISBURY; 8 p.m., Michael Herbert Hall, Wilton; Rev. A. Cordell and Rev. C. P. Gliddon; PPU and For.

STOCKWELL; 8 p.m., Trinity Presbyterian Church Hall, Clapham Road; Mr. B. L. Rickett; PPU.

WOLVERHAMPTON; 8 p.m., Civic Hall; Laurence Housman, Archdeacon of Stoke, and Rev. P. B. Jenkinson (chairman); PPU.

22 (Tues.) **SALISBURY**; 7.30 p.m., Bishop's School Hall; Youth Rally; Mary Gamble and Richard C. Wood; PPU and For.

23 (Wed.) **WANDSWORTH**; 8 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, High Street; Rev. R. P. Taylor, M. W. Briar, Rev. E. T. Putin (chairman); "Which Way to Peace?"; PPU.

24 (Thurs.) **SALISBURY**; 7.30 p.m., Assembly Rooms; Frank Hancock, Richard Bishop and Dr. D. A. Crow; PPU.

26 (Sat.) **SALISBURY**; 7.30 p.m., Assembly Rooms; Ruth Fry, Rev. L. Artingstall, Rev. C. P. Gliddon and Rev. R. Sorensen; For.

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LECTURES

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PERSONAL

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As Others See Us

BRITISH EMPIRE AS A
MENACE TO PEACE

Moves to Maintain Balance of Power

The following are extracts from an article by Han Kuijsten, a well-known Dutch pacifist, published in the October issue of the Dutch monthly *Bevrijding*.

THE dictate of Versailles created the Czechoslovakian State, the dictate of Munich abolishes it. Whoever had not yet learnt from the political occurrences of the last few years that England does not dream of going to war for "democracy," but on the contrary is bent on maintaining "peace" in Europe, at no matter what cost to others, may now have become wiser.

Now that we have escaped war by the skin of our teeth, perhaps many people will draw the necessary conclusions from Chamberlain's plain statement, that England certainly sympathizes with a small nation threatened by a great powerful neighbour, but does not consider this a reason for engaging the entire British Empire in a war: "If we should have to fight, there would have to be more at stake."

WHEN BRITAIN WOULD
FIGHT

As we may take it that the English Navy was not mobilized for nothing, nor all other preparations for war made just for fun, we are naturally led to ask: then what was England prepared to fight for—what did the English Prime Minister mean by the really big things which would have to be at stake for England to enter upon war?

The answer is that England was prepared to fight in order to preserve the *status quo*, the present conditions, just as France was. One must remember, however, that this has a different meaning for each of these two countries.

The standpoint of the two Powers was not, is not the same, neither in the Spanish nor in the Czechoslovakian conflict; that in the end France adopted the same attitude as England and followed England's lead, merely proves how far matters have gone with this country, and what is the true state of its "independence."

France has become a vassal State of England, and the first result of the destruction of the Czechoslovakian State (in its present form) is that France is crowded still further back from its former position of predominance on the continent. This achieves one of the great aims both of the German and of the English policy.

The *status quo*, then, meant for France maintaining the dictate of Versailles—the whole system of alliances which it has built up in this connexion. The military emasculation of Czechoslovakia will again considerably weaken the strategical position of France—already so much endangered by the war in Spain. For England the *status quo* meant—of course!—also maintaining its empire, but whereas France, notwithstanding its colonial possessions, is after all a European Power, England is essentially a world State, the heart of which lies in Asia.

BALANCE OF
POWER

Like France, England aims at preventing the equilibrium of power shifting to the detriment of its empire. But whereas every alteration in Europe in favour of Italy or Germany is to the disadvantage of France, this is not so for England.

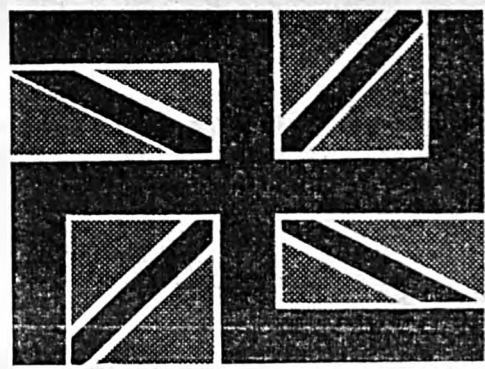
There is only one thing which England is absolutely 100 percent for: that is the preservation of the British Empire. And this necessitates a policy directed at maintaining an equal balance of power, both in Europe and in Asia. Only by allowing for this can one understand why England did not—like France—oppose Germany's re-arming as a world Power, but even encouraged it. For by this means France and Russia could be kept in check.

From this standpoint it also becomes clear why England does not wish the destruction of Japan, nor the destruction of Russia, but that it wants these two Powers to keep one another under control. Japan and Russia as Asiatic Powers form a potential danger for the English world rule—the disappearance of one of these States would shift the balance of power in the Far East in favour of the victor and render a conflict with England inevitable.

IN SOUTH-EAST
EUROPE

Germany's complete hegemony in Eastern Europe would give this country so great an ascendancy, to the prejudice of France, that the arbitral position England has already striven for on the Continent would soon become an empty word. That is why England has begun a strong politico-economical contra-offensive against Germany in the Balkans, why it has induced France to give Turkey its way in the affair of Alexandretta, and has provided Turkey with a credit of 80 million dollars, as Eliot Janeway informs us in the October issue of *Asia*, a good part of which will be used for purposes of armament.

The dispute between England and Germany was not about Czechoslovakia; no, the will of Germany—to realize the dream of a powerful German State



New flag for the British Empire?

stretching from the Gulf of Finland to the Black Sea—clashes with the will of England on no account to permit this.

Undoubtedly Chamberlain's complaisant attitude led Hitler and the members of his party to increase their demands more and more, in the firm belief that England would continue to yield. Probably Mussolini was the first to realize that England was in earnest this time with its threat, so that his warnings saved the "peace" of Europe. Mussolini had the very least to gain by a conflict; a German march upon South-Eastern Europe could not be agreeable to Italy—and war is the very last thing it desires at present, now that it is still kept busy in Spain, its financial situation is catastrophic and its further war potentiality is also below par. Mussolini's acting as agent for the British world concern will not go unrewarded.

A TRANSACTION, NOT
PEACE

Thus Chamberlain has done no more to deserve the cheers with which he was saluted in his quality of peacemaker than Daladier or Mussolini or Hitler. He has not made peace, he has concluded a transaction (just as have the others), probably a very bloody transaction. In the *Sozialistische Warte* of September 23, Klaus Bühler, who published an excellent book on England's foreign policy a short time ago (*Englands Schatten über Europa*, Ed. ENI, Paris), quotes the English publicist Philip Gibbs, who in his latest work introduces a "highly placed American."

This American sums up the aims of the British Empire in a few words: to deflect the impending war to Eastern Europe and Asia. Which means: war by Germany and Japan against the Soviet Union, and for this the alliance between France and Russia must first be broken off and the barrier, Czechoslo-

vakia, must disappear.

This solution is then presented with true English hypocrisy as a solution in favour of democracy: English leading circles consider it highly improbable that either of these parties will gain a complete victory (as we have just shown, a complete victory would not fit in with England's intentions)—between the several nations engaged in this war a mortal hatred would spring up, which would be sure to last for a few generations, and in this way a situation would be created which would make it possible for democracy (read: the British Empire) to sway the balance of power in the world for a lengthy period.

If formerly the British played off France against Germany, now that the world has become so small, the time has come to play off fascism against communism.

IMPERIALIST AND CLASS
INTERESTS

We know that the exigencies of the geopolitical situation of a country may sometimes be in conflict with the interests of the ruling classes (or rather, castes); we have seen how this contrast induced France and England to adopt an attitude in the Spanish conflict which is at variance with the interests of France and England as a political unit as empires, and thus in the final instance also with the interests of the ruling classes.

We must assume that we have a contrast here which will be lasting; the ruling classes of all countries are no longer able to give a consistent solution to the problems which arise; they become entangled in untenable contradictions. To help Italy is against England's imperialist interests; not to help Italy is also against the interest of the English ruling classes; for the collapse of Italy means the strengthening of the revolutionary tendencies in Europe.

Thus besides the reasons explained above which led England to assist Germany and Italy, there is another motive which directs its international policy, and which of course also holds good for France; to prevent the collapse of these countries, occasioning a new wave of revolution. Therefore English policy can only be contra-revolutionary in every sense of the word.

RESULTS OF
FEAR

Those, therefore, who choose war for democracy, who take the standpoint of the lesser evil, who want to eradicate fascism by fire and sword, all bourgeois and social-democrats and war-"pacifists", all these are in the front of the counter-revolution, whether they will or no. Hundreds of thousands raised a cheer of relief that the condition of latent war, wrongly designated peace, in which we live, has been maintained. Not so we. For at bottom these cheers are born from the same state of mind from which so-called anti-fascism is born: from the will to maintain the *status quo* and from fear. Just as the will to maintain the international *status quo*, existing imperialisms, that is to say imperialism as the foundation of the relationship between nations, must necessarily lead to war, presupposes a permanent state of war, so the will to maintain the *status quo* within the nation also presupposes a permanent state of war between the classes. They belong together like the sides of a medal. A true socialist cannot support this.—*IAMB Press Service*.

NEW LEAFLET

A new leaflet headed *Fellow Christian! What Next?* has been issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board to meet the still pressing need for something which can be distributed to help in the formation of a public opinion on the present situation.

The leaflet is obtainable (10s. per 1,000) from the Board at Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, 2. In cases where costs may hinder useful circulation special grants may be considered.

News of Note

POLAND'S POLICY

AN emphatic statement that Poland had no intention of establishing any sort of totalitarian regime, but that she wished to maintain good relations with both her totalitarian neighbours (Germany and Russia), was a feature of a speech last week by the deputy Prime Minister of Poland.

CONSCRIPTION ISSUE IN
AUSTRALIA

A Cabinet split over the reintroduction of compulsory military training was reported from Canberra last week. A "no-conscription" pledge given by the Premier a year ago is interpreted by some people as covering only compulsory service abroad, and not in Australia. A majority of the Cabinet, however, including the Premier, favour a continuation of the voluntary system.

Dick Sheppard Club
Opened

THE Dick Sheppard Memorial Club at King's Weigh House, London, W.1, was opened on Sunday, October 30, by Canon Raven. There were about 200 people present, speeches were made by John Barclay and Ellen Dighton, and after the ceremony about 120 people stayed to lunch.

For some time before he died a club for pacifists had been an enthusiastic idea of Dick Sheppard. The idea has materialized a year after his death, and along the lines which he himself had planned. It is open to all—regardless of creed, politics, and opinions.

There is no fixed subscription, but members are asked to pay as much as they feel able. There are no club rules, except that concerning hours: the club is open daily from 3 to 10 p.m., except on Sundays, when the hours are 3.30 to 6.30 p.m. For a short period it will not be possible to open the club on Saturdays.

There is a restaurant, a big lounge, a reading room and lending library and a bookstall well stocked with up-to-date pacifist literature.

It is hoped that the club will become a centre of pacifist discussion and activities, as well as a meeting place for members and their friends. Any inquiries should be addressed to Miss Norah Richardson, Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, London, W.1.

J. D.

Task for the League

An illuminating explanation of the change in emphasis in the League's economic work and its significance was given by Mr. S. M. Bruce, of Australia, during the Nineteenth Assembly of the League.

"As circumstances have forced us to concern ourselves somewhat less with the international organization of commerce," he said, "we have concerned ourselves more and more with the international organization of peace. It is, I think, of the greatest importance that we should realize that these two methods of approach are complementary one to the other."

"For instance, international trade should not be regarded as an end in itself but rather as a means toward enabling the citizens of each country to obtain a standard of living higher than they could reach by relying on their own resources."

He argued that "the bridging of the gap between what can be produced and consumed and what is being produced and consumed is the fundamental economic problem of our times. The work of the League on such subjects as nutrition, standard of living, housing, or rural life, will assist nations toward bridging this gap."

THE PACIFIST PUBLICITY UNIT
announces two new pamphlets:
PACIFISM AND THE
LEFT WINGby A. Fenner Brockway
andWHAT IS
NON-VIOLENT
TECHNIQUE?

by R. H. Ward

3d. each

Obtainable from 96 Regent St., W.1

PEACE NEWS

November 12, 1938.

Public Affairs Commentary

(continued from page 1)

land has been taken from him, and that a virulent colour bar is still enforced.

Now that Abyssinia is to be recognized as the latest imperialist possession under conditions that must shame civilization, the existence of this cruel and barbarous imperialism must be brought again into the forefront of public issues.

This report of Lord Hailey may provide the necessary material for rousing the nation's mind against this iniquity. There can be no security for our civilization and it can have no moral quality till this exploitation of backward peoples for our benefit has been rooted out and banished for ever.

RESULTS OF OTTAWA

WHEN Lord Baldwin arrived at Quebec for the opening of the Ottawa conference he is reported to have said that "by the methods we adopt we can set an example to the whole world in breaking down obstacles to commerce and aiding the revival of agriculture, industry and trade."

The Ottawa conference was one of the greatest economic unsettlements in history. Suddenly an empire covering a quarter of the earth's surface adopted the closed door as its economic policy. Germany, Italy, and Japan had no Empire whereby they could follow the example mentioned by Lord Baldwin.

Italy has now created an empire in Abyssinia by an act of aggression equalled only by our own in India.

Japan is now busy creating her own empire out of the living body of China, and she has virtually imposed the policy of the closed door, much to the concern and anger of the United States.

Germany is now demanding a colonial empire and in the meantime she is attempting to impose the policy of the closed door in South-East Europe. The USA is following a similar line on a smaller scale in the South American republics.

So far as the South-East of Europe is concerned, nothing can prevent Germany from becoming the economic power there.

Her method of trade is, however, something quite new. In her rejection of "western financial capitalism" she is determined to keep her trade on a strictly barter basis and she refuses to have anything to do with the usurious trade financing system favoured by the City of London.

Germany's system is essentially sound and contains tremendous possibilities as trade can be expanded without any artificial restraints which finance usually imposes. The danger lies in the fact that she may impose complete monopoly on those countries with which she establishes trade agreements.

LABOUR AND PEACE

THE deputy leader of the Labour Party declared in the House of Commons that he was not ashamed to say that he would like to see the destruction of dictatorship in Europe.

This one sentence of his gives the whole key to Labour's present policy. It is this attitude which creates such deep distrust in the peaceful professions of Labour leaders. This bitter hatred of certain dictatorships is the real explanation for the complete demoralization of the Labour movement.

Labour, in association with the majority of English people, has rightly been opposed to dictatorships. In the past, however, this has not prevented socialism being prepared to cooperate with even worse dictatorships in the cause of peace.

When the Tsar of Russia, in 1899, issued his rescript calling the Hague Conference, which resulted in the establishment of an International Court, a large section of socialist opinion welcomed this initiative, even though it came from one of the worst forms of dictatorship.

Even today Labour is prepared to cooperate with the communist dictatorship in Russia which has few redeeming features.

The Labour Party has only its leaders to thank for the deep distrust with which its international policy is regarded. How does Mr. Greenwood reconcile his declaration of favour of destruction of foreign dictatorships with the recent policy declaration of his party in favour of "discussions with all nations, whatever may be their systems of government, for the removal of genuine grievances"?

Parliamentary Notes

Dartford Postpones the General Election : Dangerous Safety Lord Stanhope—Socialist

THE Dartford by-election, not unlike that at Oxford, was fought under very different conditions from those of the General Election.

At Oxford the improvement in the anti-Government poll was a personal triumph. At Dartford, it was the result of an enormous change in the electorate. Not fifty percent of the Dartford electors on the register this time were there last time.

Yet Dartford was a heavy blow to the Government and a great encouragement to Labour, which thus finds itself justified—for so it thinks—both in its determination to have nothing to do with any sort of "United Front," and also in its qualified support of a policy of armaments.

There seems to be a very general impression that the result at Dartford has certainly postponed the date of the General Election beyond January. The Government's stock is down badly. And that is about all the satisfaction the pacifists can get out of it.

A Government which comes with such high-sounding promises of peace for our time ought not to indulge its present passion for armaments. It is in no position to throw stones at what it calls the war-mongering of the oppositions.

MR. HERBERT MORRISON'S attack on the Government for the folly of its air raid precautions was an effective piece of work, even though much of it must recoil on himself.

When he came to consider the sort of safety the people of London were likely to get, Mr. Morrison pointed to the trenches in the parks and said they were so utterly inadequate that if the people for whom they were intended, had tried to use them, they would have trampled and crushed one another to death before an enemy bomb was discharged.

He ridiculed the provision of gas masks and made the legitimate point that the auxiliary firemen would need steel helmets, which were never provided, against the "shrapnel of our own anti-aircraft guns."

I should think that every other single person in London would want a steel helmet, after the description of the new anti-aircraft guns with which Mr. Hore Belisha regaled the House.

We cannot complain, therefore, that Mr. Morrison should have expressed his fundamental concern for the safety of the people.

But even supposing, as Mr. Morrison urged, that all these precautions presume in the ultimate the wholesale evacuation of the people from our large towns, is it not clear that the most elementary consideration of organization will require their aggregation in greater or less groups in some other locality?

If an enemy, therefore, is bent on dealing out terror to the civilian population will he do it any less effectively because his attacking air fleets divide their forces and attack the villages and country camps one by one?

LET us look into the Lords. On Wednesday of last week, there were strange doings.

They all agreed, the Government spokesman apparently being the only exception, on the necessity for a national register.

Lord Addison (Labour) one-time Minister of Munitions told a doleful story of conscription in the last war which selected the wrong man to pick up litter from Wimbledon Common.

Apparently Lord Strabolgi (also Labour) would have accepted conscription in the belief that it would help to pick the correct dust-man. To put it in his own words, we wanted a national register "in order to prevent conscription of the wrong man."

The rest of the Peers who spoke all acclaimed compulsion, the national register, and national service. They must all have felt vastly strengthened to realize that the new Labour leadership on their benches was rallying in support of their conscriptionist faith.

As I have said, Lord Stanhope refrained. Like the Prime Minister, in another place, he asserted that a Ministry of Supply could not work without compelling all individual firms to toe the same line as those organized for the national requirement.

(Continued at foot of next column).

COMMUNITY IN ACTION

Experiments Under Review

KINGSLEY HALL was filled last Saturday for the second Community Conference held in that building.

The afternoon session, given a fine lead by Rev. Rex Barker, traced recent developments toward community in the churches and among the peace groups, and stressed the responsibility of community toward the relief of the distressed areas—particularly in face of the threatened winding up of the Government's relief measures next spring.

A special contribution was made by Dr. Oldham on the findings of the Oxford Conference in relation to community.

The evening session was introduced by the Warden of Kingsley Hall, who spoke on "A Year of New Beginnings." He brought brief reports from a number of new and active groups in different parts of the country.

There was special interest in R. H. Ward's comprehensive account of a London income pooling group; for the breezy story of a similar experiment in Cambridge from an undergraduate who is sharing it; for Mary Osborn's summary of a year's progress in welding an East End community into a family group; for Mr. Jolly's pioneer work among the Indian pedlars in Aldgate.

There was special significance in the spontaneous youth movement toward community at a public school as described by one of a group who are starting an experiment on the land after leaving school at Christmas.

EXHIBITION OF WORK

An exhibition of the work and produce of various community groups included bread and cakes from the Brotherhood of the Way at Hitchin; woodware, book-markers, and printing from the Cotswold Bruderhof; woven goods, wooden toys and printed greeting cards from the Community of the Way in Bow; knitted goods from Stapleton Colony in Yorkshire; and Welsh tweeds from Pantolwen Weavers.

Vegetables marketed on a cooperative barter plan by growers in Kent were also on sale. An exhibit of photographs illustrated the communal work of the Challenge Centre at Salford. Copies of *Community in Britain* were in brisk demand.

Discussions were continued on Sunday morning and the Community Service Committee was re-appointed to function for the coming year.

At an extension meeting in the afternoon a group of Peace Pledge signatories, convened by Edmund Cockledge, committed themselves to explore a practical plan for a pacifist community, starting from the basis of a small communal holding. All interested in this project are invited to write to Edmund Cockledge at Kingsley Hall, Bow.

Inquiries following the conference should be addressed to the secretary, Community Service Committee, Chancton, Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey, enclosing stamps for reply where necessary.

An Appeal To The Churches For Peace

That the leaders of the various Communion in all nations should join in issuing a universal Christian demand for peace in the name of Christ, pronouncing that unity in Christ transcends all differences of race and language, and calling on all Christians to refuse to take up arms against their brothers in Christ,

was the outstanding affirmation of a manifesto presented to a meeting in Bury on Friday of last week, and commended to the meeting by the Rector of Bury, Canon H. L. Hornby, by Father Carey, and by Canon C. E. Raven.

In a letter to *Peace News* signed by Messrs. T. F. Hamerton, L. E. Harris, Geoffrey Mather, and J. R. Law, four young Anglican clergy in Lancashire, they point out that it was made quite clear by those who commended the manifesto that it "was not an appeal to Christians to set their signatures to unilateral pacifism, but to the belief that on such a question the Church must make her voice heard in the councils of nations."

The belief of the sponsors of the manifesto was that the building up of a solid body of Christian opinion behind them would force the leaders of the Church "to come together in prayer and conference before God." Our correspondents add:

The result of such a meeting would be not merely to summon Christendom to peace, but also make it quite clear that the mass murder of Christians by Christians is an act of apostasy, making void the profession of a follower of Christ.

"Such action by the Church," they say, "would not only immeasurably strengthen the Church itself, but would also commend her to the thousands who would eagerly follow a courageous lead, and so, spreading wider and wider, make war for ever impossible."

Sold Out on Tower Hill

The lunch-hour meeting on Tower Hill on Wednesday was well attended and was addressed by Nigel Spottiswoode and J. H. Slack.

Peace News was sold out, many inquiries were made, and a few people signed the peace pledge.

Mr. W. G. Millman, of the City of London group of the Peace Pledge Union, is continuing the weekly lunch-hour talks during the absence of Dr. Donald Soper.

Next Wednesday the speakers will be Canon Stuart Morris, chairman of the PPU, and John Broughton; on November 23 they will be Mr. Millman and Humphrey S. Moore; and on November 30 the speakers will be K. Jones and, it is hoped, Preston Benson.

(Continued from previous column). ments. And that, really, was not bad socialist doctrine.

It was left to Lord Addison to deal the unkindest and most un-socialist cut of all. He unblushingly proclaimed that the setting up of a Ministry of Supply would interfere less with private enterprise than the present system did.

JAMES H. HUDSON

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